/295/ Preface

114 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the
121 results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook
in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director
of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

114 This expedition took place from February to June, 1929.
[101] Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by
railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making
observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region.
From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than
I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at
the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

114 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano
101 *tolderías* of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa
103 Ana, then the Abra del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of
San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to
stop at the Cuesta de San Simon, where I found the first Chiriguano.
Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached
the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy
[126] (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of
pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants
[178] of these *rancherías*, who live relatively far from the highway from
Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture
of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From
Saladito I reached the village of Itasiti and then Salado Grande,
[361] in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the
Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous.
The most interesting are those of Ñawirenda, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

[797] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without
[178] doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the
fewest modifications.

Plate I

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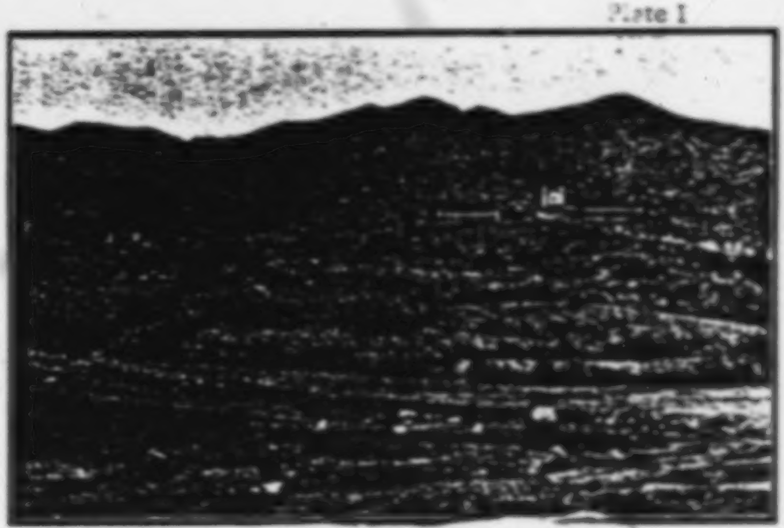
● 797



1. Panoramic view of the Franciscan mission of San Pascual de Boicovo (Huacaya Valley). (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

133

2. Landscape typical of the mountainous region occupied by the Chiriguano. View taken in a gorge in the neighborhood of the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo (Photo. by Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

[129]

Plate IV

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1. Santos Airedyú, the last "capitan grande" of the still independent Chiriguano Indians. Airedyú is completely assimilated to civilization and lives like a rich Bolivian farmer. He is a man of great character. (Photo. A. M.)

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797

2. Group of Chiriguano in a Franciscan mission. (Photo. by the R. F. Honorato Catinari.)

SF10
Chane SF8
Guana SK7

/324 cont./

Ce cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of
Ga
648 their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná:
'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiess (Mbayá) as
with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also
have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes
(Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an
old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the
C Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In
Ce the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the
175 Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/
648 like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano
567 declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic
727 value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of
the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the
linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to
the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when
addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané
tapii, 'my slave.'

Ce "The little we know about the Chané who live in the
175 lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively
797 with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of
the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in
C the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in
● [797] 1714 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian
village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan
de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish
C priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could
Ce be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero
175 and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé
162 addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789
797 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living
mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and
Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found
C in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were
Ce living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan
175 missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané
648 naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds
797

[Text Continues on P. 51]

C /325 cont./
Ce of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a
175 matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations
648 took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from
[797] their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end
G of the 15th century.

C The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the
175 Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal.
72 Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to
167 Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's
Ce 175 expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the
648 banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the homes of his people and taken
C women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a
G [266] member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had
Ce done with his companions and several women. He was able to
[113] escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

C In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about
G the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country
175 of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano
72 will do a century later: "They fell," says he, "on the houses
567 of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the
Ce 175 Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with
648 them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

/340 cont./

421 Property is a sacred thing among the Chiriguano, and the nearest relatives cannot dispose of their belongings without their formal consent.

241 115 123 At the time of my stay in Caruruti, I once asked my old friend "Captain" Karnapadyú to take me to his field. He was very touched by /Plate VI appears here/ /341/ the interest that my wish implied and in an instant showed himself ready to do the honors.

249 409 797 142 291

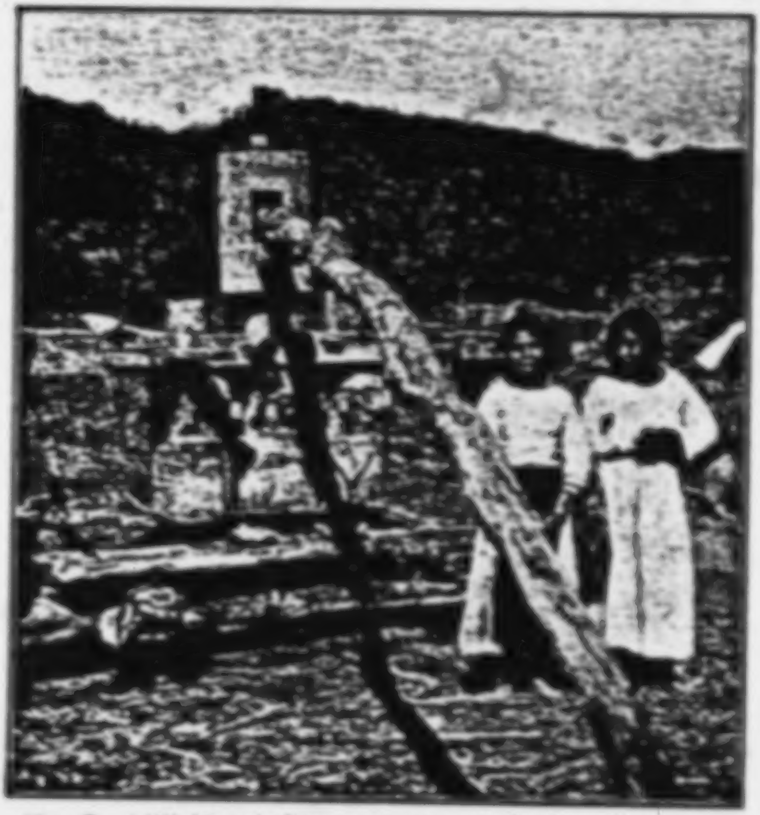

Fig. 7. Mill for grinding sugar cane at the Ivu mission.
(Photo. A. M.)

241 115 (123)

His field was about 700 meters from the village on top of one of the cliffs which border the "quebrada" /ravine/ of Caruruti. Access to it was by a steep path across fallen rocks. The entrance to the field was closed by a hedge composed of tree trunks and thorny shrubs which we climbed over with the help of an Indian-style ladder, that is, a thick branch with deep cuts for steps. [35] [417]

[Text continues on p. 74]

/345 cont./

433 224 178 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 7); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod
[223] (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live
[352] [412] in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the impression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 17) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance.
[799] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more
[411] perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on P. 89]

Tupinamba S09

T /360 cont./
175 their four fingers from the earthen dish or other vessel in
264 which they keep it, even though they throw it from rather far
away, nevertheless they put it so accurately into their mouths
that they do not drop a single bit. So that some of us French-
men, wishing to imitate them, thought we would eat it in that
fashion, and not being at all trained for that like them, in-
stead of throwing it in our mouths, we discharged it on our
cheeks and floured our whole face; /361/ consequently unless
those principally who wore beards would have wanted to be
accoutered as players of farces, we were constrained to take it
with spoons" (Léry, Vol. I, pp. 143-144).

T
262 This comparison permitted me to suppose that roasted
252 corn flour has simply replaced the "farinha" of the Brazilians.
264 As we know, the pulp of manioc tubers, after being carefully
squeezed in the tipiti, or trough, was roasted on a terra-cotta
slab and changed into dry flour, with which the Tupinamba
C accompanied all their meals. The Chiriguano think the same
262 way about atíi: they say that corn flour, in order to be eaten,
264 must have an accompaniment, an intina. To my way of think-
176 ing, atíi and muínti are two substitutes for manioc flour that
the Chiriguano invented or adapted after emigrating into a
C land where bitter manioc was unknown. Neither the other tribes
[171] of the Chaco nor the Quichua eat corn in this form, and, to my
knowledge at least, there is no doubt that the Chiriguano
introduced these two dishes into the country, without counting
a goodly number of the ones which have been enumerated.

C The only fruits that the Chiriguano consume on a large
262 scale are the prickly pear or tuna (Opuntia), which are seen
C in all their villages. They also plant some fig and orange
[245] trees when they are under mission influence. They are also
[097] great lovers of melons, of sandias (watermelons), and when
they have eaten one of these which has pleased them particularly,
they keep the seed. They love sugar cane with a passion.
Sorghum is especially meant for the children, for whom these
graminaceae are a veritable sweetmeat. They suck the juice,
which is as sweet as that of sugar cane.

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one
178 is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of
415 having been until recently the last Indians of South America
/Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be
included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art,
so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent.
Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which
one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with
the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited
415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy,
126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía
178 and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of
Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest
specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional
/Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay
my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several
times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre-
● [797] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which
formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens
797 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex-
323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than
415 what I /395/ could observe in the Macharetí mission. After
178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in
[162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely
acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There
[463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew
how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see
p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years
the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the
large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of
415 profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the
178 total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing
177 influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects;
finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and
foremost gasoline cans.

Guiana SR1

/460 cont./

Fans or Fire-blowers

C
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184
[171] Great was my surprise when upon arriving in the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo region I found fire fans identical with those of the Indians of Brazil and the Guianas. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 56) barely mentions them and insists on their rarity. The fact is explained by the absence of this cultural element in all the rest of the zone inhabited by the Chiriguano. In most of the villages they use old hats or fragments of baskets to fan the fire.

C
372
285 Plate LXXXV.$^{2}_{\wedge}$ Length, 28.5 centimeters; width, 31 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The making of these fans is rather simple. The leaves composing them cross in a rhythm of two. On the edge the stalks have been bent back and, passing again across the fabric, are interlaced to form a pucker on each side. The free ends /Plates LXXXIII-LXXXV appear here/ /461/ have been plaited on top and one part passed into a split stick forming the handle (Fig. 117).

C
[171] An important remark must be made on the subject of these fans. They /Fig. 117 appears here/ differ little from the fans made of a single pinnate palm leaf, such as are found in Brazil and Paraguay. The Chiriguano, having no palm trees of this

C
[824] species in their new homeland, had to /Fig. 118 appears here/ adopt the palmate leaves of the karandaí. They replaced the petiole, which forms the handle, with the split stick to which I have alluded. (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 106 and 107, pp. 219-220.)

C
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797
[824] /462/

"Flowers"

On feast days the Chiriguano of the Franciscan missions decorate the church with artificial "flowers" which they make from leaves of karandaí palms. These decorations are of ancient origin and derive directly from the straw amusements /jeux/ still made by the Indians in various /Fig. 119 appears here/ regions of America, notably in the Guianas. The natives of the latter region often hang them in their houses where they perhaps

G
285
353 $^{2}_{\wedge}$[See p. 322 --Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 324]

Chané SF8
Arawakan Indians SR6

C /465 cont./
796 descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the
241 abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have
[171] their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of
C the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made
[177] known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano
borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the
A Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of
796 the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most
241 splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient
Ce rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks
796 crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more
241 sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.

532 In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan
C significance and has become contaminated with usages which
796 the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino
● [797] (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I
[177] shall summarize the principal features.

C The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-
[532] man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending
peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games: masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the dancers.

Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub
C themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new
[177] garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

C Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between
796 a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful
535 butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The
dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus
[536] three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

C 175 648

Inca fortresses were visited by Nordenskiöld (1915 a, 1924 a), who described them under the names of Incallacta and Incahuasi. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Río de la Plata.

C Ce 648 175 Ce [177] C [266]

Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chicha*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Humahuaca, wore metal ornaments, and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawak* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapetí River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908.

C [186] Ce [197]

C C 175 648 162

The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Río Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, in the region of Machareti, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané*; in Charagua, 350 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 200 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection.

C 175 648

The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapetí (Condorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chicha* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Barranca. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay.

C 175 797 648

The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco Gonzalez, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Centeno, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiaca, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery.

Chane SF8

C 175 797 641 In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapeti, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuarembotí, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapeti River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapeti. C 668 648 175 In 1892, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

C 797 464 167 CC 648 101 In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

C 162 175 The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapeti River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Azero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the C 161 region of Isoso, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,167 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

ARCHEOLOGY

C 172 764 Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapeti River, and similar burials were discovered at Taropaya. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

C 172 At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chané SF8

273 462 plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large Ce 273 jars. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

C Ce 525 [177] **Gambling.**—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[8] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

C 177 525 European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

C 526 [171] **Games.**—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Ce 526 Ce [439] Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapetí River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they butted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

C 524 *Chiriguano* women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

C 77 177 797 During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tunpa, or Iandapoha ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratunpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning C [794] [791] god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

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[8] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

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p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

Chart of Positions of End Map, (pp. 447-452).
/facing End Map/

/xii cont./

~~000~~ arms of the Delegation and the forts, which they know how to burn frequently; the Tapiete continually threaten the farthest outposts and all their personnel, because the cannon and bayonet are powerless to civilize and to implant in the iron breast and crude heart of the savage /xiii/ humanitarian ideas, philanthropical ideas, because the cannon destroys, it does not civilize.

121 I shall not concern myself with these tribes in the course of my pages; a book could be written about all of them, studying their origin, their customs, their relations with the other tribes and even with the whites, their relations with invisible or imaginary beings, their language and their deeds, but I renounce this arduous task and concentrate upon the Chiriguano race, which was conquered by the missionaries of Tarija long before South American Independence and later by the fellows of the Colegio de Potosí from the year 1870 through a region closed to trade and civilization.

● [997]

The first thing I shall do in the course of these lines is to set down a description of the Chiriguano region, after which will follow: the origin of the tribe or race, language, statistics, physical and moral character, religion, political organization, the people, customs, imposition of the tembeta /lip plug/ on the males, fasting on the maidens, sicknesses, wars, songs, gatherings, and, finally, death and mourning. I shall try to make this little work pleasant and for that reason I shall allow myself to insert an occasional fable which was formerly held to be a fact and which even today is taken as such in certain regions.

Word to the Reader

114 This little work, which some will call not only useless but also a waste of effort is now born, but perhaps others who like to study races will find it useful for Ethnography, despite the fact that it is inadequate to give a perfect idea of the race among which I have lived since the year 1893.

Before beginning this third work I have tried to acquire some knowledge. I am not the first to write about these Indians; I have been preceded by D'Orbigny, Pelleschi, /xiv/ Mantegazza,

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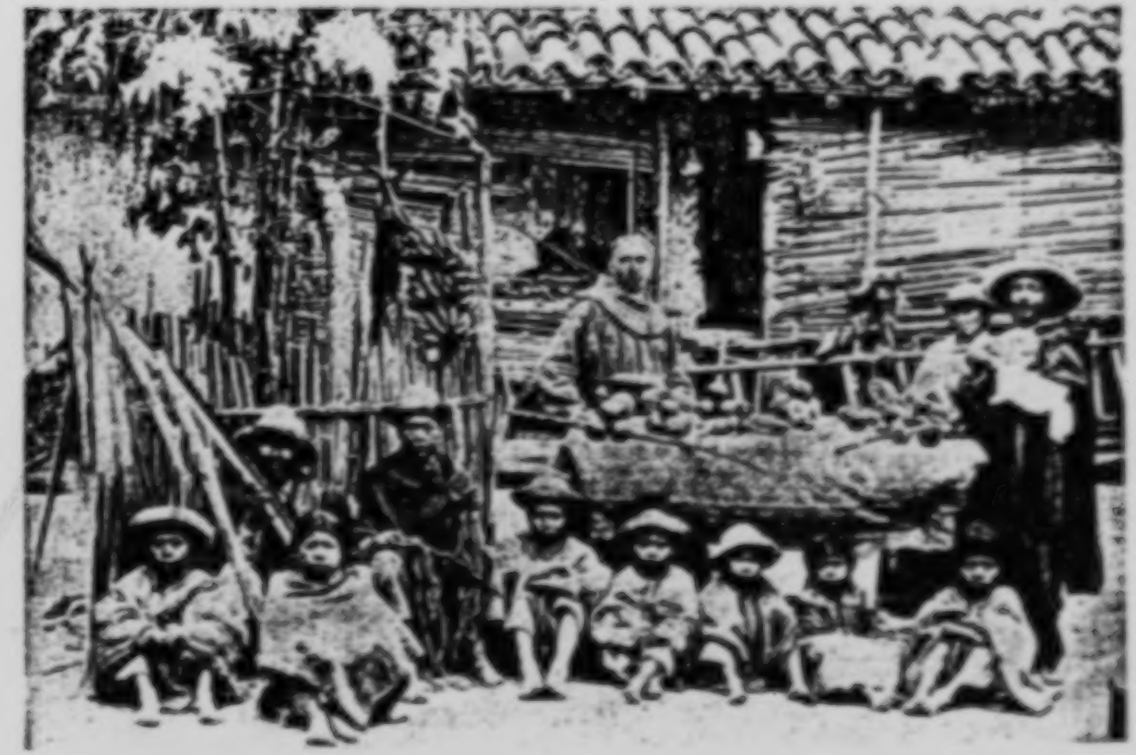
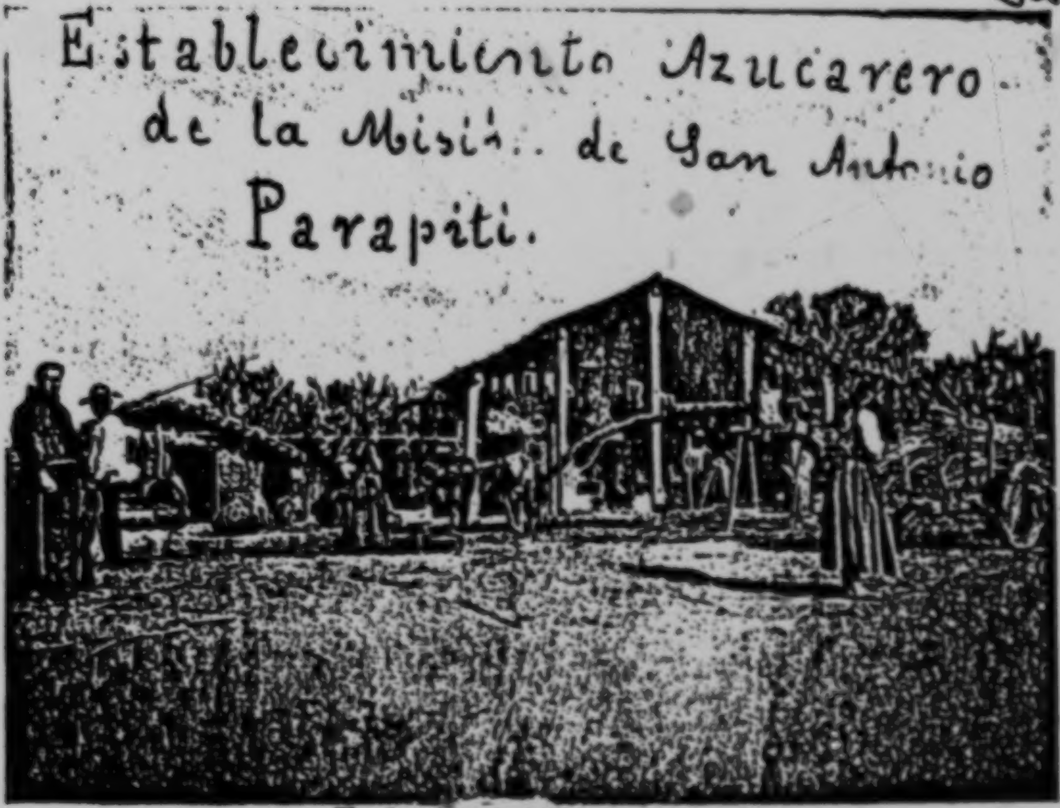


Agricultural Industry of the Missions



Establecimiento Azucarero de la Misión de San Antonio Parapiti.

The San Antonio Mill in Parapiti.

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/39 cont./

174 197 In support of the aforesaid is the language, which differs little from Guaraní, spoken in the Republic of Paraguay, in various parts of Brazil, and even in Corrientes, and language is an irrefutable argument for one or more nations, but inasmuch as this language is very reduced in the latter places, and it was general in the former (Paraguay) until a rather recent period, it might well be concluded that the Chiriguano originated in Paraguay.

648 ● 797 This Nation is attempting in our times to enlarge or extend its domain into the territories occupied by the Chiriguano, especially as far as degree 22, where almost all of the missions are located, including those of Parapiti Grande, which are located at 19°58' latitude south of the meridian of Paris. Bolivian diplomacy has powerful arguments to uphold its rights, with the support of the missions, principally those of Parapiti, whose first founding goes back to the eighteenth century. The Franciscan Father Narciso Llamedo built there a moral and a physical edifice, whose vestiges can still be seen today, by authority of the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Chuquisaca and supported by the Royal Audiencia of Charcas. Neither the Chiriguano language nor the invasion of this race gives any right to Paraguay, because all authors and explorers are in agreement that this race did not exist here before the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Chiriguano were visited by the Inca Yupanqui with a large force of men from Cuzco. Later, in the sixteenth century, the resident viceroy of Lima vainly attempted to humiliate the pride of this race, and finally everyone sees that the Bolivian Nation has exercised full authority here since before and after the war of Independence, and that the missions have progressed and are progressing in the shadow of the Bolivian flag, which has always waved in these remote lands.

174 Someone might observe and say: Why, when the Chiriguano /70/ emigrated from Paraguay, did they not settle on the banks of the Pilcomayo and on the immense pampas of the Gran Chaco? At first glance this question constitutes a grave embarrassment to one who does not know the race, but it is easy to answer it satisfactorily. All barbarous tribes remain in

/74 cont./

175 648 wiped out the few soldiers whom Francisco Pizarro led into Cajamarca, overpowering Emperor Atahuallpa by killing 5,000 Indians.

The Chiriguano, better advised than the Quechua and their emperor, formed great armies to combat the invaders, and these were defeated many times by the terrible host; on other occasions they destroyed their fields in order to make them perish from need, and other times they made captives of the women, after having killed the men and other younger males.

175 797 The unequal struggle lasted for centuries, and finally they were conquered little by little by the missionaries. The latter, with only the Cross and preaching, obtained greater victories, because whereas the whites presented themselves to the barbarians with superiority of arms, sowing devastation and making the rivers run with blood, the missionaries presented themselves with humility, sowing the divine seed, and conquered them with the word of the Gospel.

The barbarians recognized the difference between them, and while in the beginning they destroyed the first missions, killing a missionary priest (2), when they understood more perfectly that the priest proposed the conquest of their souls /75/ and the defense of their country, they delivered themselves completely into the hands of the missionary, not in order to be educated as Christians, but in order not to lose their independence. Only through the agency of the missionaries is the vast country which includes a distance of more than 300 leagues from north to south and more than 60 from east to west entirely open today to trade and civilization. The Jesuits were slowly replaced by the Franciscans, who

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2. The Chiriguano Indians of Ingre Valley set fire to the mission of the Jesuit fathers and plucked from the altar Father Lisardi, who was killed by 17 arrows in the mission plaza, dressed in his sacramental vestments.

[75 cont.]

175 founded various missions, and today what is not in the hands
177 of the respective diocesan authority is all in the power of the latter group, who have irrigated this soil with the sweat of their labors for centuries (1).

1. The Jesuit Father Pons made efforts to found missions in the stretch between the Pilcomayo and Parapiti, with whose Indians he began to speak, but he was unable to do anything. This was done in the first half of the seventeenth century.

174 There is no doubt about the Paraguayan origin of the
167 Chiriguano native, as there is none about that of the Guarayo, whose language is the brother of the former's, despite the fact that they do not understand each other well, owing to the great variations which both have undergone. Paraguay is southeast of Bolivia and the region occupied by the Chiriguano tribe northwest of the former, with the Gran Chaco being the extensive region which separates the two republics of Paraguay and Bolivia. The domicile of the Chiriguano in the Gran Chaco is another circumstance which weighs heavily in indicating the Paraguayan origin of the tribe.

All that remains is to know the route which the Chiriguano followed in their migration to Bolivia; it might have been done in a straight line, crossing the Gran Chaco, which distance from the last cordillera west of Parapiti and Charagua to Paraguay is scarcely 100 leagues, but this route offers the insuperable obstacle of lacking the most important element for life, water. This has clearly been demonstrated by the calamities suffered by the various expeditions organized by the Bolivian government for the purpose of opening a straight road to Paraguay by setting out from Isoso (2).

2. The explorer Francés Thouar, after having gone over the route opened by the Arana, had to retreat because of lack of water and in a rash step became lost and, with several others, nearly perished from hunger and thirst.

/77 cont./

197 "Conumi," lad, do not have an accent
194 on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in
171 Guaraní.

197 In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, em-
178 braced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly
361 reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is
162 still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tasete, Araticu, and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and 2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

197 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town
178 or in the missions, in the first because of living among
197 whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Repub-
●797 lic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason, instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first, as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few books that exist will only serve as an historical monument for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

464 /78 cont./ Today there is already a need for farmers,
799 and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day
laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-
builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immigration of useful people, not idle people, is necessary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers, /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montes? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

175 Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have
~~464~~ disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of
[161] some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the
disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and
[799] service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions
[162] are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must
be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

/79 cont./

178 464 Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija
missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which
● [197] makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big
[162] and small, old and young. But of this number there are
scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work,
and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through
[131] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from
[465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today
the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will
be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the
day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 There is a great struggle under way between the
[667] Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase
his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate
and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler
and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence
as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior,
yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been
broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave,
he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where
he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former
197 times and the very missions which antedate South American
361 independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and
others are on the point of disappearing.

/80 cont./

797 Because of the intervention of political authority, the present missionaries will fall heir to the same fate, if the law of the department is not changed, because, it seems, they have dropped to the category of agencies of said authority and of all the Christians who are continually coming here in search of hands; and H. Montero's proposal will not only aggravate the situation, but it will leave these regions without workers for agriculture and cattle-raising. 46 648 797 It is certain that labor makes man more moral, but it must be confessed that the Indian is lazy and opposed to working for the whites, whom he considers the usurpers of his lands. They will voluntarily go to work where they are treated with humanity, but where they are allotted the worst food and hard labor, they go with repugnance, despite the suggestions of the missionaries.

The caciques who respect and follow the missionary's orders become tired of continually seeking laborers for the whites, because they are aware of the unwillingness to obey; the result is that sometimes both Indians and caciques hide in the country, and when they get tired of this, they go away from the mission for a long time, leaving their families in misery. The missionaries struggle to gather the dispersed ones together again, but it often happens that the efforts of several months are lost in one night or in a few days, and in spite of the laws that exist in Bolivia, nobody has concerned himself with Chiriguano emigration. 46 Reasons for the disappearance of masons, carpenters, shoemakers, and musicians are not lacking at the present time, since the most important thing is to get apparently luxurious clothing from head to feet, which cannot be obtained here very easily, either because they spend the money on other trifles or because there are no companies which provide all facilities to the laborer (1).

1. Today the whites who mistreat the Chiriguano are few. When a day's pay was fixed at 40 centavos, there was some difficulty, which has now disappeared; the Indian is now earning

46 /80 cont./

well in his own home; he only lacks the facility to procure what the Argentines give him and then he will resign himself to not emigrating.

797 As I have said above, nowadays the principal centers of the tribe have been reduced to the missions. For this reason I judge it appropriate to speak briefly of each of these which exists at the present time, so that the reader /illustration appears here/ /81/ can form some idea, however vague, of the efforts of the Franciscan missionaries, who are the only persons who today spend years and even their whole lives in the midst of privations and infirmities, experiencing solitude and enduring a sad and woeful life, in order to instruct and reduce some Indians who have little appreciation of religious and civil instruction.

The First Missionaries among the Chiriguano and a Precious Discovery

080 The primary end which the seraphic St. Francis of Assisi proposed with the founding of the Order of Minors was the reformation of the customs in the nations of the world and the teaching of the true Religion to the infidels of the Universe. /The remainder of p. 81 and the first paragraph of p. 82 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 82 follows./

797 175 But let us return to the primary object of this section. We have at hand the Crónica de la Provincia de San Antonio de los Charcas, written by the Franciscan Father Diego de Mendoza, O. F. M., in 1665. In his first book, Chapters 13 and 14, may be read in summary what immediately follows.

The first civilized man who entered the region of the Chiriguano to the east of Tarija was Father Simón de San Payo, a priest-cleric, son of Portuguese people, a native of Brazil, and, as such, informed about the language of

[text continues on p. 118]

/82 cont./

797 these Indians; he was there for four years. But the arrival of
175 this priest neither can nor should be considered in the sense of missionary, because his motives for going there were very different from the religious instruction of the Chiriguano, with whom he lived in a fashion not at all correct, for which reason the Viceroy Marqués de Monte Claros made him leave.

Nevertheless, the Viceroy, as a good Catholic, was burning with the ardent desire to have the many Chiriguano souls enlightened by the light of the Gospel, and, in order to bring this about, he decided to send to the region the illustrious Sons of Loyola. These, with the fervor which characterizes them, accepted the offer with much pleasure, with the condition that the ill-fated Father Simón de San Payo, who had behaved so badly the first time, should not return there.

But the Indians urgently asked for this cleric, and furthermore none of the Fathers and Brothers of the Company knew the language of the Indians whom they were to catechize. Finally, since the Jesuit Fathers had set the exclusion of that bad priest as a *sine qua non* condition, the Viceroy stopped insisting in their presence.

Had he perhaps also desisted from carrying on his project of civilizing the Chiriguano? No. He made proposals in the name of His Majesty before the Superior of the Convent of San Francisco de Chuquisaca, and, once the matter was known by the community, 17 religious spontaneously volunteered for such holy work.

From among these volunteers two were selected by royal decree, to wit, Father Agustín Sabio and Father Francisco Gonzalez, with the promise that more religious would be sent as necessity required.

Nonetheless, the Chiriguano Indians insisted that /83/ the Licenciado Simón de San Payo be allowed to come back, because, according to what was found out later from statements by the cacique, this misguided man had made many and various promises to the unfortunate savages.

/83 cont./

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175 A new hearing was held before the Audiencia; there was opposition against the return of the said priest, but the opposite opinion prevailed, and consequently it was ordered that the missionaries who were dispatched for the civilization of the Chiriguano should take the Licenciado with them, as was done to their great regret and to that of the Franciscan community.

On November 2 of 1609 the three charged with this duty left Chuquisaca, passed through Potosí, where they baptized the first three Chiriguano, passed through Tarija, and arrived at their town, located near the Salinas Valley, on December 22 of the same year.

This first arrival did not correspond to the most noble purposes of our missionaries, both because of the intrigues of the Licenciado and because of the inconstancy and avarice of the barbarians, which we know perfectly well. Even today, despite being completely reduced in the several missions, they reveal the same inconstancy and avarice, which indicates that they have always been the same, not inclined toward the mysteries and practices of our holy Religion.

Nevertheless, the seed left in the field of Salinas by the first missionaries of San Francisco de Chuquisaca did not fall upon completely sterile ground, and it slowly began to yield its fruit, since in later years others entered the same region.

What is surprisingly impressive about this is that there was found in the area of Salinas a large and heavy cross that had been placed in a cave located in the depths of the forest.

This cross rested on three pyramids of medium-sized stones, was made out of a thick piece of quinaquina wood, 15 feet long and two-thirds of a foot in diameter, retained its natural bark, and had in same three spikes of the same wood with their octagonal heads placed in the arms and foot of the said cross; twelve men were needed to move it to the town of La Torre.

/83 cont./

799 175 The cross was found by an Indian who had followed a deer which took refuge in the same cave; it was later moved to Tarija and placed in the church of San Francisco.

[173] None of the Indians could give any certain explanation for this precious relic; nevertheless, tradition from father to son, to grandson, to great-grandson and great-great-grandson, etc., among those Chiriguano states that /84/ in very remote times a man "of considerable height, white of face, with a long beard, with extensive hair, who wore long clothing almost to his feet, with a tunic and square cape or blanket," had walked about with that piece of wood, preaching to them that God had come to the world and that He had died upon another piece of wood like that one, and, seeing that they did not wish to believe him or accept his doctrine, he had withdrawn into that cave, where he stayed for a long time; he had gone away later and left the piece of wood there.

When the Fathers of the Company of Jesus founded missions in Paraguay among the Guaraní, they found a tradition that the Apostle Santo Tomé or Santo Tomás /Saint Thomas/ had been among them, had taught them the religion of Christ, had predicted that this religion would be lost among them, and that in distant times others dressed almost like him and with a cross in their hands would announce the same doctrine to them. The Indians were convinced that the prophecy had come true with the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers.

We know through Christian chronicles and histories that God performs miracles by means of the relics of the saints and the things that have belonged to them or have been used by them. We can consequently lend credence to the coming of an Apostle, or of St. Thomas, first because of the Gospel, "Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae," and, second, because of the tradition among the Guaraní Indians, the Chiriguano, and those of Carabuco in the province of Omasuyos, department of La Paz, where another cross was found, and, thirdly, because of the miracles performed by means of it.

/84 cont./

797 175 We have said that the strength of 12 men was needed to move the cross found among the Chiriguano from the cave to the town of La Torre. Nevertheless, on the occasion of a fire which destroyed the church and a metal chalice, one soldier went into the temple to save the cross from the fire, and he alone took it from among the flames, which scarcely left any signs of the fire on the Holy Wood.

In a quarrel which occurred among some soldiers Francisco del Cerro was gravely injured by a deadly stab wound; neither doctors nor surgeons were present, and meanwhile this soldier was bleeding and was in danger of dying.

In those days they were very faithful, and since they fervently venerated the cross which they had found in the cave, they removed a small part of the Holy Wood, reduced it to powder, /85/ the wounded man drank it in some water, the blood ceased to flow, and within four days he was completely well, without need of any other medicine.

From these and other extraordinary deeds performed by the Holy Wood, we can deduce, still depending on the tradition of the Paraguay Indians, that it was quite probable that one of the Apostles of Christ came to preach the faith in this part of the world and even probable that this Apostle might have been St. Thomas, because the description given by the Guaraní and Chiriguano Indians corresponds to that of the same Apostle told to us in the ecclesiastical histories.

Missions of the Colegio de Potosí (1)

[361] 1. The department of Potosí does not have any Chiriguano Indians, and thus the Franciscans of that Colegio /school/ could not have catechized them by establishing missions, but by previous agreement with the missionaries of Sucre and permission of the government and diocesan authority, they came into possession of their territory.

/85 cont./

● 797 San Antonio del Parapiti Grande. -- This mission was founded on April 25 of 1903, in spite of the violent struggle against it made by the whites of the region through the press and even by actions, when on August 30 of this same year a stubborn corregidor at the head of 25 or 30 armed militiamen, almost all of them taken by force, tried to dislodge the missionary, who remained firm, without, however, putting up the slightest resistance or making any actual defense against such an attack. This settlement has continued to advance and to make material progress. It numbers 1,479 souls; the town is located on an immense plain, and the buildings -- the mission -- on a small hill; the elevation of the town above sea level is 580 meters -- meridian from Paris, 19° 58' south latitude, 60° 32' 45" west longitude (2).

> 2. This mission, founded by Father Francisco del Pilar, was organized by Father Narciso Llamedo; destroyed by the patriots, it was again founded in the year 1871 and abandoned in 1880 because of persecutions. It has been reorganized.

080 Here is how I described its panorama in the year 1908: It is an enchanting location, and anyone who comes here for the first time is ecstatic; he first sees the beaches and the Parapiti River, whose capricious course is admirable and whose waters are the plaything of the south and north winds, which make it change its direction whenever it suits their fancy. This immense beach, with the waters usually in the middle, looks like certain regional maps of the world, where /86/ centers of population have been engraved in the middle and immense deserts at the sides, and the painting grows when it is observed from the mission house among the branches of the leafy woods on the left edge.

/86 cont./

000 Next, the ecstatic visitor admires in the distance an immense savanna, that incalculable bluish-green carpet which seems to have been rolled out flat; it extends for leagues and leagues, giving a perfect impression of the sea; secular and gigantic trees, the algarrobas and quebrachos, which stand out, besides the other lesser trees which are present in abundance and which look like the waves of the stormy Pacific when they are agitated by the winds. Finally, the picture is made more interesting by the clear and cloudless mornings, as they almost always are, which offer a picturesque and otherwise enchanting perspective and panorama.

The smiling aurora is accompanied by the beneficent zephyr produced by the nearness of the river, which, with its gentle breezes, refreshes very early the heated atmosphere, and an abundant dew is sprinkled like diminutive pearls upon the leaves. Then there appear in the distance among the branches and the foliage the first luminous red clouds which announce the nearness of the great star, king of the universe, who seems to be rising unwillingly from his fluffy bed, finally letting his majesty be seen above the horizon. As he continues on his course, he becomes larger, and behind the woods is displayed that globe of fire, it being possible to look at it without its ardent rays damaging the vision of one who looks at it (1).

1. "Continuación de la Historia de las Misiones de Postosí," by Father Bernardino de Nino, p. 32.

797 2. San Francisco Solano del Parapiti Grande. -- This second mission of the great Parapiti was united with the aforementioned one up to October of the year 1908, and its residents depended on the same conversor /literally "converter"/ in both material and spiritual matters, especially in cases of grave illness. Since the first of November of that year two missionaries have resided there to do everything possible to advance spiritual matters; this date then may be regarded as the real and true date of its founding.

/86 cont./

and since it is a work of God, it is hoped that it will progress despite the lack of effort and the little willingness on the part of Indians in following the example of their neighbors.

Little by little, they will come to understand the spiritual good which is intended for them, /87/, because boys and girls are now being gathered together for instruction and, God grant, their number will increase with time! At the beginning the missionary lived in an ancient building left from the year 1871, and the tiny church is also ancient, but a new house has been built with a sala and two cells for dormitories. This new establishment is at present composed of some 300 souls, but it may grow, because there are many Indians in the forest and outside of the mission.

Its climate is satisfactory; its panorama offers little to see, because the town and the mission house are standing on a plain. It could be dominant only on a height, but, on the other hand, its location is convenient because of having the water of the river quite near, and it would not require much work to bring it close to it by means of a wide ditch. The town is at a height of 545 meters above sea level, 5,490 meters in distance from San Antonio, and the geographical difference is minimal (1).

1. Before Independence it was united with the previously mentioned one; in 1871 it was separated off, as it is at present.

2. San Buenaventura de Yvu. -- It is about 18 leagues from the above and was founded on May 3, 1893, after the end of the Curuyuqui war, in which the Indians were completely defeated at the end of January, 1892. At the present time it has 119 families and a population of 652 souls, while at the end of the last century its inhabitants exceeded a thousand. Near the mission house, at approximately 100 meters more or less, there is a hill with a surface of about half a league, which has small springs of rich and crystalline water, from which comes the name "Yvu," "water's eye" /hojo de agua/;

/87 cont./

797 the climate is very healthy, but the lack of food is continual, and they must often eat the roots of the serpentine arum, or mangara, bitter and poisonous before it is cooked (7).

7. Flora Cruceña of R. Peña. The fire makes it lose the poisonous part, but not all of the bitterness.

The buildings are constructed on a level site located on a small rise. The panorama which runs from north to northeast is [133] extensive and pleasant; there in the distance can be seen the hills of Taremacua and the cordillera of Ururigua, through which Nature opened a gateway to give passage to the waters of the Parapiti River, which fearlessly and with great boldness hurls itself from a great height, forming by its imposing waterfall a lake of white foam, like a boll of wild cotton, and then following its rapid course through San Antonio, Mariqui, Cumbarüi, and Isoso, /88/ where it is completely lost. Still farther beyond, to [137] the north and northwest, in the midst of a thick forest of quebrachos, [133] thickets, and secular algarrobas, are seen the tops of the ranges of Salinas and Timboirenta and something of Incahuasi, and at a short distance from the town is seen a round hill called "Tunpa repoti," the Chiriguano history and meaning of which I am not ignorant, and in front of the mission house, at the distance of half a league, are the pampas of Curuyuqui located among algarrobas and other trees; up to here the panorama of Yvu is similar to that of green Umbria of the kingdom of Italy. The [137] picture is dismal to the west and south, because the heart is oppressed by a consideration of the sands of the desert, however, much the springs of the west suggest the ancient and capricious fountains of the temples of Arcadia. Nevertheless, in the rainy season the hills and the plains garb themselves with fresh grass and wild flowers, lending to the nearby horizon a pleasant and varied appearance. The town is located at 770 meters above sea level, and at 20° 44' 35" south latitude, and 65° 50' 7" longitude west of the meridian of Paris, according to what is recorded in the

/88 cont./

797 "Historia de las Misiones" (1).

> 1. The whites call this place "Ibo," giving rise to the Cuevo-Ibo question debated so much in the legislative chambers. The jurisdiction of Cuevo today extends from the Irenta range to that of Aguaragüe from west to east and in the north continues to the Parapiti River; Camatindi and Tacuaranti ought to belong to Ñancaroinza,just as Itatiqui, Ipitacuapi, and Caimbeti, as far as the Parapiti River, should belong to the Carandaiti canton.

4. Santa Rosa de Cuevo. -- This mission was founded in the year 1887. Fifteen kilometers separate it from the previous one by an entirely level road, and today it has a population of 1,238 inhabitants, while at the time of its founding or a few years later its population reached 2,115, as is stated in the Historia of Father Angélico Martarelli (2).

[648]

> 2. During the Chiriguano uprising of 1892 the mission was the saving refuge of all the inhabitants of the Cuevo canton, and during the campaign it was made the headquarters. Colonel Frías, Colonel Chavarría, and General Gonzalez, with their aespective troops, and many other militiamen, with their leaders, were there.

Its buildings, located on a very prominent hill, have the appearance of a fortress from whatever direction they are observed; when they are considered in terms of their solidity, beauty, and topographic level, it is difficult to find others like them in these parts. Its panorama is delightful; /illustration appears here/ /89/ it is surrounded by fields and hills very beautiful to the eye and pleasing to the heart, just as its inhabitants who breathe that perfumed air are pleasing. In the distance the hills of Aguaragüe to the east, those of Irenta and

[Text continues on p. 128]

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View of the Santa Rosa Mission

/89 cont./

797 Saararenta to the west and southwest, and those of Salinas to the north make its location harmonious. Its land is extremely fertile when it is irrigated by abundant rains, and in its fields there is no lack of water needed for the livestock, despite the scarcity and saltiness of the little that comes down by way of the stream of Irenta, from which the missionaries and settlers supply themselves and drink.

With the opening of this mission, there then disappeared the fear which had previously held sway among the travelers who had passed through these regions with distrust, because the numerous Chiriguano, together with the Toba, inspired terror in times not long past, so much so that, in order to found the missions of Parapiti Grande, Father Francisco Solano in the year 1870 had to make a wide swing by way of the Tarija missions and lengthen his voyage by more than 35 leagues. Today this is the route of the traders to Santa Cruz and Tarija; in this sense, too, the Republic has greatly benefited; it is one more town, quite advanced in every sense, in which the official language is making rapid progress. Its elevation above sea level is 855 meters (1).

1. It is located at 20° 38' latitude south of the meridian of Paris and 65° 42' west longitude.

5. San Pascual de Boicovo. -- This mission of Boicovo (butterfly serpent) was founded in the year 1875, 12 years before that of Santa Rosa, from which it is separated by the cordillera of Saararenta by a distance of 45 kilometers to the southwest, being at a height of 765 meters above sea level. It has a population of 300 or more souls, while at the beginning it had 1,210, according to the history of the missions. There are few infidels, and few also are those who do not speak the Spanish language; among the Christians, rare is the neophyte who does not know how to express himself in it and infants drink it with their milk. Oh, the prodigy of the Catholic religion! This is not seen where missionaries do not reside.

/89 cont./

797 The mission building is located on quite a high hill; it has a beautiful church, too large for the few settlers; the town has very little ventilation, for which reason contagious diseases do great damage. The smallpox of 1880 carried off more than 300 souls, that of 1894, 100, and that of 1895, 45, because the majority had been saved in the /90/ previous years, and yet the black vomit, or yellow fever, carried off 50 victims. The site occupied by the mission has no panorama because of the ranges to the east and west that are a few meters away. It is a mousehole, embellished with the mission building, houses constructed with some skill, and abundant fruit trees; it has little land of any value for agriculture and livestock, because it is completely wooded, but more than enough for the few settlers (1).

1. This mission was founded as the result of a bloody war which its settlers, together with the Toba and Chiriguano of Cuevo and Yvu, waged against the whites of Igüembe in the year 1874 to 1875.

[illegible]. Igüembe, Huacaya, Ingre, and Cuevo. -- In addition to the missions already described, the towns whose names head up this small section were founded by the Franciscan missionaries of the Colegio de Potosí. Their beginnings date from the years 1870, 1875, 1881, and 1882, respectively, and they continue to be cared for by the missionaries of Potosí, except for Ingre, ceded to those of the Colegio de Sucre in the year 1904.

Their settlers are all of the white race, having come from the departments of Tarija, Santa Cruz, Sucre, and Cochabamba. At the beginning they assisted the missionaries in the conquest of the souls and civilization of the Chiriguano, there being particularly distinguished in this regard the inhabitants of Huacaya and Igüembe, from which came the missionaries for the Christianization of the Indians of Boicovo.

/90 cont./

797 Cuevo, Ivu, and Parapiti. Today these regions are populated by whites, and this evidently proves that the Cross of the Redeemer, planted by the missionary and watered by his sweat, is more powerful than the cannon of the kings, which could not make the Chiriguano surrender prior to South American independence (7).

> 7. The whites who assisted the missionaries in Boicovo and in Parapiti received from the Supreme Government an allotment of land half a league square.

7. San José de Ñumbía. -- The territory of the mission to be founded is located on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River at 22° latitude and 64° 50' longitude west of the meridian of Paris, 16 leagues from San Pascual de Boicovo and from Igüembe, in whose canton it is located. Anyone who might like to know the particulars of the events concerning the founding of this mission should read my little work, "La continuación de la Historia," etc., p. 164.

/91/ The site is beautiful, located on the banks of a great river with an abundance of fish of all colors and sizes; five small towns must be joined in order to found the mission, which could be done, were times different, because the Indians are like the other Chiriguano. The missionaries of Potosí did everything necessary for the founding of the mission up to taking possession of the land and getting approval of the titles, which were handed over to the missionaries of Sucre, together with the chaplaincy of N. S. del Rosario del Ingre /Our Lady of the Rosary of Ingre/ (1).

> 1. The missionaries of Sucre were prepared to found the mission at the end of the year 1905, when the Supreme Court decided that the opposition of Lema should be handled in the ordinary tribunals; thus it has remained.

/91 cont./

Cuevo

361 175 [103] The town of Cuevo is located on the left bank of the torrent or stream of the same name. Before the war of the year 1875, and even later, it was known by the Chiriguano who lived there as Ñumbicte, which means "halfway field," and in fact it occupies a beautiful level place located almost midway between the ranges to the west and those to the east.

Almost all of the first white inhabitants were from the department of Santa Cruz, and it is an undeniable fact that Colonel Víctor Antezana moved to the region of Cuevo-Ibo with some militiamen from Lagunillas and built a fortress where the public cemetery of Cuevo is today, and another one where the church of San Buenaventura of the mission of Yvu has been built, both works which are owed to the constancy and activity of the Franciscan missionaries of the Villa Imperial. The fortresses are later than 1875.

● [1799] [248] Subsequently, the town was formed under the protection of the missionaries themselves and around the Cross of the Savior; it was completely burned by the Indians in the uprising of Curuyuqui in 1892, but the inhabitants of Cuevo who did not perish, with the assistance of the flourishing mission of Santa Rosa, built anew and in better condition the new town, which continues to progress today.

195 648 [361] In the war of the year 1875 all the Chiriguano of Cuevo-Ibo and Huacaya, together with the treacherous Toba and guided by the great cacique Corone, who lost his life in the torrent of Baecua opposite the town of Igüembe, rose up as one man to overwhelm all the whites in the region.

/92/ In this critical situation the intrepid subprefect of the province of Acero, D. Antonio Menduiña, with the militiamen from Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta, and Ingre, flew to the region of Igüembe and with these people overwhelmed the innumerable and ferocious host, reducing it at once to impotence by the slaughter of Caipipendi.

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Cuevo had belonged by law from long before Independence, and still belonged by right of conquest after the defeat of the barbarians, to the department of Chuquisaca, but the Representación Cruceña /representatives from Santa Cruz/ has constantly demanded the region of Cuevo-Ibo as an integral part of the territory of Santa Cruz.

The current legislature has ended this much-discussed matter on the basis of the law of 1898. Cuevo consequently now belongs to the department of Santa Cruz, because that law fixes as the interdepartmental boundary the left bank of its stream, which is about 150 or 200 meters from the town.

[199] Even the Representación Tarijeña /from Tarija/ has been consulted in this matter and has fixed its boundaries at the right bank of the stream of Camatindi; this was based on the same law and on the fact that the territory was settled by Christians from Tarija and was won over by the Franciscan missionaries from the Colegio of the same city since before 1875. Tarija still retains the region of Caipipendi, which belonged to the Huacaya canton.

When the interdepartmental arrangement is finally made, Sucre will lose a zone of 12 to 14 leagues from Cuevo to the right bank of the Parapiti River, and another eight leagues or so from the right bank of the Camatindi stream, not counting the incalculable zone lost toward the east. Here is the law promulgated: /the remainder of p. 92, p. 93, and six lines, including a footnote, on p. 94 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 94 follows./

Ibo or Ivu Canton

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Once the interdepartmental problem is solved in a friendly fashion, according to the bill approved in the Chamber of Deputies in this year of 1912 and promulgated as the law of the nation, the department of Sucre is prepared to elevate to the rank of canton the region of Ibo or Ivu, the capital of which might be the San Buenaventura Mission, located at this very place.

/94 cont./

631 645 If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaqueña /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel, on the west the ranges of Saararenta and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

● [797] [162] Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivu with 652 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

797 177 463 648 Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to take over the political government of a town, in spite of the fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians, carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

000 The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

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175 648 The expedition entrusted by the Supreme Government to an Englishman, which was to enter the Cayuguari region through Picuigua (water for dovelings), can be said to have failed, because the two attempts which it made were without result and it had to return in order not to perish because of the absolute lack of water.

Picuigua is some 12 leagues distant from Cayuguari. Picuigua is a dry lake, but, with drilling, sufficient water can be obtained for the garrison of the fort which is to be established, should it turn out that the news of the existence of a permanent lake in Cayuguari, where there are some 50 families, is false. /The last paragraph of p. 96, p. 97, and the first three paragraphs of p. 98 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 98 follows./

Itatiqui

361 [131] The town of Chiriguano infidels with which I head these few lines is located 11 leagues from the Franciscan Mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu and seven leagues from the missions of the Parapiti Grande, at 19° 43' 13" latitude south of the meridian of París, and at 60° 29' 42" west longitude.

● 797 361 The Colegio de Misiones Franciscanas de Potosí is trying to establish in this place a Misión Conversora which would depend on the Fathers established on the banks of the Parapiti River. The idea is eminently civilizing and progressive, because this place is located along the highway which, coming out of Yacuiba, passes /99/ through Charagua and ends in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the journey from the little town of Buyuive to the Parapiti Grande, there is no other town which might be able to provide services for the travelers and the vehicles which traverse it every day without being able now to count upon any assistance in their difficult crossing.

797 The Indian of Itatiqui is too poor and lazy; it is necessary to get him moving and watch over him so that he may become useful and progress; in his territory there is no water, nor are there artificial lakes so that he and his livestock

/99 cont./

797 might drink, but these latter could easily be obtained with well-constructed dams; but someone to direct him and make him work is lacking.

With the founding of a Misión Conversora the Indian would have the guarantees which at present he does not possess; he would live in his town, which was reorganized not long ago, with the prospect of being protected by the missionary; he would establish his artificial lakes, and the traveler would have a place in which to rest and to sleep, in guest houses, without any danger either to his property or to his physical health.

648 The Supreme Government has been more concerned with this advancement in the region of the Gran Chaco. It issued its decree for a measure of the lands of three leagues more or less in extent which they had possessed ab immemorabili, but when steps were taken to lay out the lines, it turned out that another private party had set boundaries, leaving for the Indians the town and a small parcel of uncultivated lands, and the latter quite limited. Because of the measures taken by this private party, the Indians have lost all of the cultivated land of Igüitiyapi, near which the said private party has undertaken the considerable enterprise of establishing an artificial lake in the place called Caapirenta, pointing out that the measure against the Indians was performed in the same year, 1911, a few months before the order of the Supreme Government in favor of the natives was put into effect.

800 In order that the good intentions of the nation and of the missionaries of Potosí might not come to naught, the Supreme Government should give an impartial person the commission to set himself up in the place, to seek data on the Indians and other well-intentioned people, and subsequently to give a conscientious report so that just decisions might be made. /The last paragraph on p. 99 and the first four paragraphs on p. 100 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 100 follows./

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Missions of the Colegio de Tarija (2)

2. At present the Colegio de Tarija has only the missions located in the province of Azero, because Chimeo and Itau seem to be towns of whites rather than Indians.

To describe the glories of this apostolic Colegio of Franciscans is to attempt the impossible in this small work, the purpose of which is not a description of the works of the missionaries, as I observed in the introduction, but rather to tell of the origin and customs of the Chiriguano tribe.

/101/ Tarija might be called the land of missionaries, before and after Independence; it is sufficient to travel casually through that department, and it will become apparent that a church here, a parish house there, and yonder a mission building, all are due to the constancy, patience, self-denial, suffering, and anguish of the Tarija missionary; there are the churches of San Roque, Caraparí, Sella, and Tupiza, which are of yesterday.

Let us penetrate into Azero and Cordillera. What memories they evoke, although some are destroyed and others are falling into decay! Oh how majestically does the image of Brother Francisco del Pilar rise up, he to whose heroic patience are owed all of the missions prior to Independence! Abapó! What an imperishable memory! The church and the mission house are still there, and I have even seen a part of the schools, now almost destroyed; yes, these memories made me pour out tears! They were memories of my brothers, persecuted then and harassed today by men who do not know their merits and by an authority which calls itself the protector of missionaries. Oh no! We might call it by another name, but we shall not pronounce it, but continue forward, for missionaries know how to pardon, as followers of Christ, and even should they be somewhat dismayed by so many unpleasant events, they continue at their tasks, erecting new buildings and repairing the old deteriorated ones.

/101 cont./

361 797 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] [167] [464] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 797 131 1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/102 cont./

797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361 797 [162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascuál de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (2). /Illustration appears here./

[563] [464] [131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p 141]

4: Nino--140 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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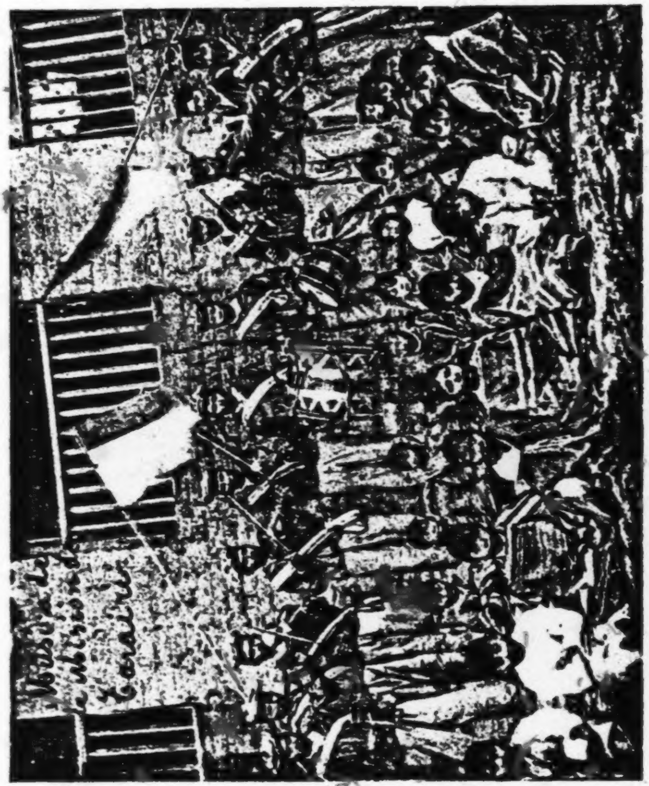

Music of the Tarairi Mission

/103/

●797 3. Tarairi. -- While the immortal Pope Pius IX was declaring the immaculate conception of Most Holy Mary, the Patroness of the Seraphic Order, a dogma of the faith, the religious of the same family belonging to the Colegio de Tarija, by ways unknown to human understanding, were founding the Misión de la Purísima de Tarairi, which was the first one on the left bank of the Pilcomayo and, of course, was very dangerous, being among Indians who did not wish to hear about either religion or morality, not to mention the dangers from the other Indians of the region, the Toba and Mataco. It is about five leagues from Tigüipa and three from Camatindi, a town of white Christians; the road is fair, but there are some ups and downs.

The buildings of this mission are colossal; it seems that everything, from the church to the workshops, was done magnificently; the former is high and wide, the roof has double trusses like the one in Tigüipa, one man being the director of both, its altars are carved, and the image of the Patroness is precious. The buildings are uniform, which indicates that the construction followed a plan; for this reason there is nothing superfluous or anything which is not in direct communication; this building is so convenient that the Padre Conversor can direct from his window the processing of the sugar, raw and milled, and even the manufacture of tiles and bricks and the respective kilns.

The town is large and is divided into two; the one of the infidels is located toward the south on one hand, and the one of the neophytes in front of the mission building. They are neatly lined up, as in every mission, and all have straw roofs. The population is made up of some 1,200 inhabitants, who leave much to be desired, perhaps because of the proximity of Villa-Montes, are quite insubordinate and will quickly refer any matter, however trifling it might be, to the Delegación del Gran Chaco, which, unfortunately, at least in past times, gave too much credence to the lies

/103 cont./

797 of the Indians (1).

[721] 1. This mission, because it was the first one north of the Pilcomayo, was the target of the Chiriguano and Toba, who repeatedly tried to destroy it; its elevation above sea level is 662 meters, and it is located at 21° 8' 27" south latitude and 62° 17' 4" west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. Aguairenta. -- This mission was founded in the year 1849, and at the present time it is the oldest, because for a long time now Chimeo and the town of Itau have been elevated in rank to true Doctrinas /a curacy, also an Indian village newly consecrated to the Christian religion/. Three caciques of three parties joined together for the founding of Aguairenta, since each one wanted the missionary in his town. The distance which separates the Aguairenta mission from the one /104/ of Tarairi is more than 22 leagues by way of a quite level and wide road.

According to what has been described with some exaggeration and for not very good motives, Aguairenta is the queen of the plains, the muse of poets, and the contemplation of the wise men; it is certain that its panorama is quite delightful, as are its meadows, full of fragrance because of the many orange groves. It has abundant water, which makes the land fertile, but it is not found at any great distance.

[563] [191] [797] The settlers have been reduced to a few and are mixed with the whites; almost all speak the Spanish language well, and the customs and style of dress are like those of the mestizo settlers, in spite of the fact that an occasional one may be seen dressed in the old way (1).

1. By a decree of January [illegible], 1911, Aguairenta has been declared a headquarters for troops, who have had possession of the place since the end of 1910. Nevertheless the Government

/104 cont./

797 has left the mission house and the garden for the use and comfort of the Father-Chaplain. It is located at 778 meters above sea level and at 21° 46' 10" south latitude and 62° 48' 35" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

5. San Francisco and San Antonio. -- In the missions called San Antonio and San Francisco del Pilcomayo the Supreme Government decided to found a city under the name of Villa-Montes; but after it was handed over by the missionaries in the year 1906, instead of progressing, those flourishing settlements have retrogressed. The vineyards and gardens have deteriorated. The buildings are falling into ruin, and morality fell precipitously and is progressively [871] worse there. The schools for boys and girls have been reduced to very few students, and for these few the national treasury distributes 160 bolivianos per month, while to the chaplain who has to live there it pays no more than 240 bolivianos per year.

Everything that belonged to the two missions, such as implements, carpentry, buildings, sugar mills, cattle, horses, etc., was handed over with an inventory to the national delegate, Dr. Don Leocadio Trigo, and the missionaries, without being able to use even a cell which might serve as lodging for the night for the Father Chaplain, had no other recourse but to shake even the dust from their sandals.

[162] The approximate population of Chiriguano natives in the above towns is 4,500 souls (2).

2. The Supreme Government rented the mission building to the German company, which has made little progress. It is located at 460 meters above sea level and at 21° 16' 15" south latitude and at 62° 20' 2" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/105/

797 Itau, Chimeo. -- Itau has been in existence for more than a century, and Chimeo more than half a century. In the first reside two missionaries, one of whom attends to spiritual matters for the parish of Chimeo, which has been reduced to almost nothing. Indians and Christians live in the area, the latter being more numerous than the former. Itau and Chimeo were missions and officially still are, because the diocesan authority could not accept them due to a lack of clergy, but in fact they are no longer missions. Itau has many white settlers, and in Chimeo the missionary is not even in residence, which indicates that a permanent stay there would be little less than useless, because of the lack of settlers.

7. Yacuiba, Caiza, Carapari, and Camatindi. -- The towns with whose names we have headed these few lines all belong to the white race and are populated centers, especially the first one, where the political authority of the province of the Gran Chaco resides, in addition to which the customs office is also there, because the town is the one nearest to the boundary with the Republic of Argentina. All of them are helped in spiritual matters by the missionaries of Tarija and in some they have a permanent residence.

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361 8. Carandaiti. -- This recently formed town merits a few exclusive lines. It is some eight leagues from the Machareti mission by a somewhat rough road, deserted and lacking in water. It can be regarded as the largest canton of the province of Azero, inasmuch as its very extensive territory goes to the right bank of the Parapiti River, as long as the interdepartmental question of Cuevo-Ibo is not settled.

The town of Carand[illegible]wes its founding to the parishes of the canton of Igüembe, Huacaya, and Ingre. After the war of 1875, the Indians of Huacaya were pacified with the founding of the Boicovo mission and the military fort of Huacaya. In a few years several of them left this place, and, with the inducement of receiving in recompense one league of land, they explored Carandaiti and settled in that place. They were attacked by the tribes repeatedly, suffered a few

/105 cont./

797 361 setbacks, and endured the bitterness of having some captured by the savages, but the establishment of the town is now an accomplished fact. It has a pretty church, consecrated at the end of July, 1908, and the only thing lacking is a priest in residence to attend to them spiritually with great care, because Machareti is quite far for this widespread parish (1).

> 1. The Christians who explored the territory of Carandaiti received the land promised; there is no potable water other than that of the ponds, which are in danger of being emptied. The preservation of this town should receive the attention of the Government of Bolivia for the sake of commerce, the cattle industry, transportation, and the prospect of new explorations to the east.

128 127 /106/ With the brief summary which I have made with reference to the missionaries among the Chiriguano and to the towns of whites built in the same region, presided over by the Franciscans of Tarija and Potosí, I bring an end to this second chapter, in which several opinions regarding the origin and point of departure of the Chiriguano for the region which they occupied, and with slight differences occupy at present, have been expressed.

There is no invention in it; by means of patient verification from different persons at different times, by consulting numerous authors, who, by study, reference, or in passing, have left something in writing, I have come to learn certain facts which, if they are believed here, are also believed in other places, and I have concluded that not all of it could be a fable, and as I have heard them told, so do I present them to my readers. This is the chapter which has concerned me most, and I do not know if the time, vigils, and the sleep of which my eyes have been deprived have been well employed; be that as it may, the public now has it.

/109/

Chapter Three

Characteristics of the Chiriguano

Introduction

000 At the end of the nineteenth century, and specifically in the year 1897, the whole Catholic world was invited in advance to attend the great exhibition of sacred art which took place in Turin, beautiful and grand Italian city of the Piedmont. The Pontiff of Rome made his voice heard and the Catholics of the five parts of the terrestrial world made preparations to participate in the literary, scientific, manufacturing industry, and other competitions.

The missions could not fail to take part in this contest of competency; they could not close their ears to the voice of the Supreme Hierarch of the world; with the fervor of the first Christians, with the humility of neophytes, directed by missionaries of all of the Catholic orders and congregations, they prepared an extraordinary contest. In Turin were seen the rarities and products of the missions of China, Africa, Palestine, North America, the colony of Eritrea, Oceania, Patagonia, South America, etc.

Although Bolivia occupies a quite modest place on maps of the world and is slowly being organized to rise to a very great height, it exhibited its products in the said world exposition and was even represented by its tribes. They sent there everything that could be sent from the missions of Guarayos, the missions of Tarija, and those of
797 Potosí. It was then that an Italian photographer, employed
126 in Tarija, went through its missions and those of Potosí, taking pictures of views, panoramas, groups of Chiriguano, families, churches, missionaries, etc. (1).

1. The order to take part came from the Curia Generalicia of Rome and the Most Reverend Father Commissioner in Bolivia disposed that the Colegio of Potosí be united

/109 cont./

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with that of Tarija because the inhabitants of the missions of both colegios were of the same Chiriguano race.

/110/ The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 148/ is one of the said photographs; it shows a group of Chiriguano women with their festive clothing and adornments, who are ready to attend a public gathering for drinking; it was made in the Boicovo Mission and taken with the others to the exposition. The group of Indian day laborers is reserved for the chapter which deals with work and chores; both groups show the physical constitution of the race, about which Señor del Campano, after the exposition was over, wrote his book; perhaps this gentleman also had seen the four Chiriguano who were brought from the Tarija missions (1).

[113]

1. *Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani* /Information on the Chiriguano/. Florence, 1902. This is the most complete work that exists in Italy, in view of which I decided to write the present one here where the Chiriguano live.

Physique

14

After having studied the territory that a tribe occupies and consigned to paper what is most characteristic, and, next, having discovered appropriately by means of traditional and historical data or well-founded suppositions the origin and derivation of the tribe, the first thing that is exhibited to the ethnographer and to any observer is the physical body; its proportions, whether large, small, or average, soon strike the eye, the latter, the observer, considers mentally what the former, the physical ethnographer, sees, and begins his narration and then goes on to the character.

/110 cont./

144 Some explorers and travelers, after having happily concluded their investigative labors, have set down in their reports that the Chiriguano Indians have changed greatly in physique since the whites or Creoles entered their territory,
[563] [177] [797] but nothing could be less exact than this. Clandestine unions between Christian men and Chiriguano women have been quite rare, and even rarer are legitimate unions through Catholic marriage, from which generally comes propagation and change in races (2).

> 2. In 20 years of missionary life I have blessed but four marriages between Christian white men and Chiriguano neophytes.

114 144 If Señor del Campano states that for a period of 40 years the Chiriguano have maintained themselves without change, on the basis of photographs taken in the year 1860, which were placed at his disposal by Professor Mantegazza, and those which the missionaries of Potosí and Tarija sent in 1898 to the Turin Exposition, among /111/ which was a skull collected by the author of this work in the fields of Curuyuqui and sold by Father Giannecchini to the Florence museum, what can be said by some missionaries who have grown old and who are growing old among these Indians and who know the race in old men and in young boys, in old women and in damsels, before and after the white Christians were introduced in number?

In my judgment the said change does not exist, because an occasional isolated case, an occasional family, where the mixture of the two races has taken place, cannot be adduced as proof that the physique of the race has varied greatly. Travelers and explorers pass through a region rapidly; they can devote little time to the study of a race, and consequently their written reports, worthy of all respect, are somewhat exaggerated, as were those of the Spaniards

4: Nino--155 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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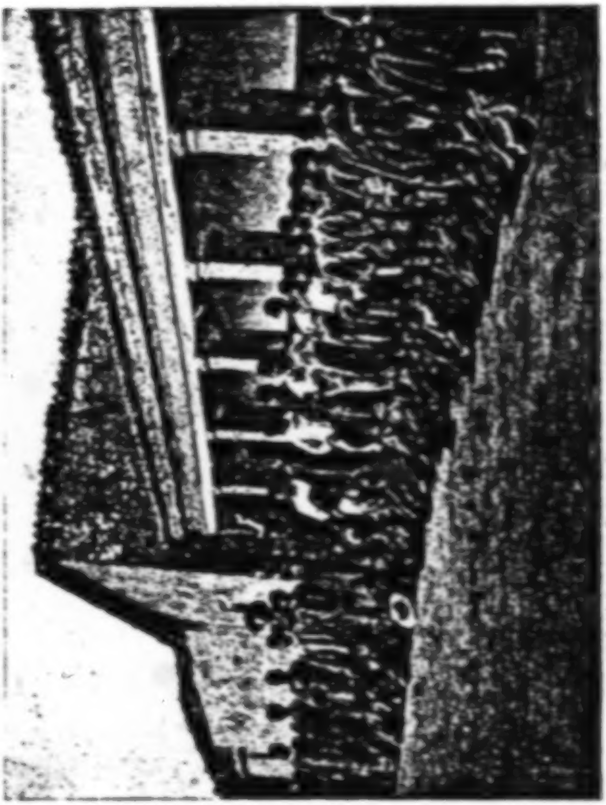

Children of St. Buenaventura School in Ivo

/116 cont./

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Difficulties in Reducing Them

If among other tribes missionaries have been able to found missions without considering the material advantages for the Indian, among the Chiriguano this has not been the case. I can say that almost all of them have been founded when the Indian was undergoing some calamity or persecution by his neighbors: Santa Rosa, Ivu, Parapiti, etc. were founded in this way. The Indian does not consider his spiritual well-being; when he admits the missionary into his land, he is thinking of the material advantages. By the same token if in other missions young and old are baptized without distinction, among these people this is not what happens. To baptize an adult Indian who is enjoying good health would be like asking for pears from an elm; he only requests this sacrament when he sees that there is no longer any hope of life, and in the first years of a mission even this is difficult and a great many of them reject it categorically. I could enumerate cases which have happened to me. There are persons who want to be condemned simply because they have heard from the lips of missionaries that those who do not receive baptism are not saved, and, inasmuch as nobody received it before the founding of the mission, they want to descend to the place of punishment in order to see their loved ones again. Oh sad and lamentable ignorance, from which some do not wish to emerge (?)!

2. In Yvu there was less difficulty because of the proximity of Santa Rosa, and in Parapiti there was none because of the repeated foundings in that place.

In case of calamity or persecution, the missionary is quickly sought by the caciques, who do not rest until they have gained their ends. One modern proof of this is offered to us in the case of the cacique of the village of Pipi, who

/116 cont./

● 797 not long ago continually appeared at the Yvu mission to
829 take me to found a mission in his town and thus to free it
177 from persecution by a neighbor, according to what he said.
For this he promised everything, goodness, docility, adherence, free work, and all the rest; religion and baptism only were reserved for children, as in other towns. While the Indian is well off and not bothered by anyone in his lazy life with its frequent drinking, it is not easy to get good things out of him.

797 /117/ Even for the education of a child it is necessary
829 to bribe the Indian with material things. He does not
871 resist handing over his children, but he wants them to be
177 given clothing. No matter how much they may have, he
brings them to school completely naked or with a shirt all ragged and torn, so that the missionary will immediately dress them, and let it be noted that he does not ask this as a favor. Up to a certain point he seems to demand it, saying, "Ropa emeé chupé," give him clothing. If the missionary asks something as a favor, he must pay them back in material things; should he forget, they ask for them.

829 It has already been seen that the Tarairi mission was
797 founded in the year 1854, this being the first founding to
177 take place on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River, being
due to the zeal of Father José Giannelli. It was near Easter, and the missionary let it be known to various caciques that at that time there would be a commemoration of the death of God and that they should also come, with their pains and afflictions, to demonstrate their adherence to the truths and dogmas of the Catholic faith. He knew through experience that the Chiriguano have a special tenderness for the dead. In fact, a great number of them gathered there to hear the word of the missionary father, who thought that he had conquered them all, seeing them so attentive and silent and seeing them crying and full of compunction. But Easter came, the day of joy, and those who had come to cry about the death of Jesus came once more before the missionary, asking for new

/117 cont./

829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
● 797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 842 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training [756] [278] [885] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

883 786 [881] [842] /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage, suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a suitable distance from the said gathering. 797

/118 cont./

797 [786] [883] These facts cannot be denied, because they are based on the experience of centuries. Unfortunately, they do occur, and it is very difficult to uproot them. There is no lack of repentance or lack of punishment, admonitions, and fears, but civilizing action is not enough for this, nor even often the Gospel, because: *animalis homo non percipit quae Dei sunt*. We can say that the action of the missionary is one of yesterday among the Chiriguano. The Christians or neophytes have changed much in relation to the infidels throughout the region, but a great deal more is still lacking for them to come to understand the strength of Religion and civilization, since, naturally, abandoned humanity gives free rein to passions and it is indeed difficult to contain it afterwards in a short time (1).

[674] 1. The infidels of the missions complain about the neophytes, but they do not understand that times have changed, and the race as well. Murders are committed in other places, but this does not happen in the missions.

847 Sister to the sterility which the coquettish girls manage
to procure is abortion. There is no woman who does not
know the thousand ways for procuring this, always provided
that they have not obtained or resorted to remedies for
847 sterilizing themselves at puberty. In general it is those girls
586 who have been betrayed by their lovers or abandoned by
836 those who have sworn fidelity to them throughout their
848 lives who come to this excess of killing innocent babies.
For this reason they not only hate the perpetrator, but
also his fruit in their bellies, and thus they make an effort
to get rid of the innocent one by plucking it dead from
their breast.

/122 cont./
152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
571 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
167 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their
household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (2).

2. Father Corrado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Yvu to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
799 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
177 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering
the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/123 cont./

797 829 179 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory. about three leagues long by half a league wide. and the plan was then to build them some small chapel. but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

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1. Today. instead of missions. they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived. but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions. while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing. and the advantages and poogress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux. in Guachalla. and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla. the president-elect. said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175 511 [132] Before the Parapiti missions were organized. those Indians suffered considerable misery. because the place was quite dry in the rainy season. and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river. since the few lands there were in the [166] hands of the whites. Father Giannocchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay. and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number. he exhorted them to move to some mission. but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/123 cont./

Aptitudes

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157 It cannot be denied that laziness is innate in the Chiriguano Indian, but, when compared with the Toba, Mataco, and other tribes, I assert that they do a great deal or even too much. They need a guide, they need to be watched over, but when this is not lacking, they are hard working. The whites
464 in the regions inhabited by these Indians do not know of any other laborers. All the towns of Cordillera, Azero, and Gran Chaco have been built with the energies of the Chiriguano. With these same laborers are sustained the agriculture and cattle raising of these provinces, and even by means of them are the national roads of these regions kept clean and open, as well as those from one canton to another, the one from Yacuiba to Santa Cruz and the one from Taperilla. The Chiriguano laborers began and are continuing the work on the Azero bridge, /124/ and many of them are still working on the Bermejo River close to where it arrives at Yacuiba (1).

1. A private enterprise composed of Don Braulio Zapata, corregidor of Carandaiti, the subprefect, Don Ramón Menduiña, and other well-known and rich men of the same town is organizing an expedition to the fields of Cayuguari to found a fort there and to conquer the territory. The subprefect plans to open a cart road, with the help of the Chiriguano cacique, Mandepónai, and his soldiers.

● 797 The paternal rule of the missionaries has managed to make the Chiriquano much more docile; it has succeeded in building towns and large centers of population around the Cross; there is not one of the towns of those who live in complete ignorance of Religion that can be compared with them. The Missionaries have succeeded in building magnificent churches, great teaching establishments, comfortable and airy houses, workshops for arts and crafts. They have managed to implant the teaching of

/124 cont./

●797 Religion, that of reading and writing, and even the art of musical chords, which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands, and in those of Tarija, two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult, whenever he wishes, the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter, and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when, ecstatically, he contemplates the grandiose, strong, and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission, that of the elevated Machareti Mission, that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission, and the one which, as though by enchantment and with order, is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

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177 All of this shows that the Chiriguano, in spite of his indolence, is docile, and with gentleness and a little strictness at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that, though he does have his vices and defects, certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching, with civilization, as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant, or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key, a lock, or any other object.

/125/ Philanthropy

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829 To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with Chiriguano religion, I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment, they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may have to obtain it. If someone is sick, he is visited by many; [736] if one is left an orphan, all are his fathers, mothers, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/130 cont./

776 What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

124 From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible
776 to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say
true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no
contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find
one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people
who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?"
they answer, "Quia ndipó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?"
They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not
● 797 know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened
177 on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the
829 company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of
[114] Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part
in the war of 1875 against Igüembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

192 In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things,

/130 cont./

192 and it is the one that they apply to anything that causes them wonder or admiration over something new.

776 It is the missionary and the Christians who have made it under-
192 stood to the Indian that Tunpa means God, the maker of all things visible and invisible. Father Corrado, one of the most illustrious
● [797] Franciscan missionaries, who thoroughly understood the Chiriguano language, in which he wrote a brief but profound catechism, says clearly in a note on its first page that it cannot be stated /131/ that the word Tunpa means God, and he only puts it in his catechism because all the writers who have dealt with the Chiriguano race give the word Tunpa the meaning of God.

This Tunpa of which the Chiriguano cannot give a clear idea and which the missionaries and Christians explain as meaning the true God, Tunpaete vae (1), is for the Indian the source of all that is good, a living and material being, in contrast to another divinity. He makes it rain, he makes the algarrobas, maize, gourds, and everything edible ripen, he wards off sickness and all calamities, in spite of which all these kindnesses are still attributed to the sorcerers, men of flesh and blood like anyone else, who consequently have the name Tunpaete, for which reason I said that, for the Indian, Tunpa is a living physical being. If the missionary, as Columbus did, could announce in advance an eclipse or the appearance of a comet, for the Indian he is a Tunpa (2).

[193] 1. The particle "Ete" in this language expresses the superlative degree. It is put after a noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb.

2. Several times I have announced beforehand eclipses of the moon. Last year, long before it became visible, I announced to the Indians the appearance of Halley's comet. This was sufficient for me to be called Tunpaete.

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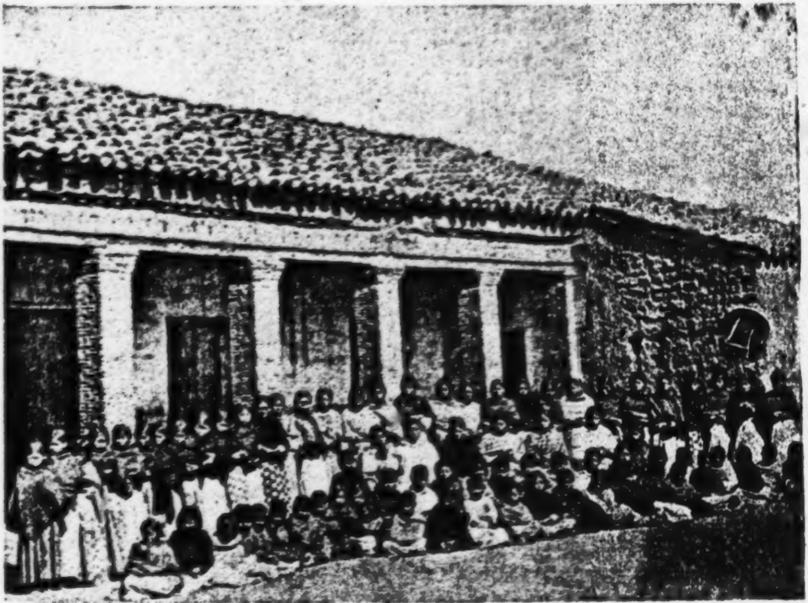

Girls' School of S. Buenaventura de Ivo

/143 cont./

000 The sun is a beneficent star; it gives us light, warms us in winter, causes food to grow for men and animals, /144/ it is a creation which God has put in the world so that, as a second cause it will maintain the universe and all things in it, this being the principal virtue granted to it by the Maker of all things.

821 782 The Chiriguano understands the virtue of the sun to the extent that it strikes his corporal senses, and thus it was with difficulty in ancient times that he elevated his spirit to the contemplation of another invisible Being superior to the star of the day, from which it came about, according to some writers, that the Chiriguano would address some prayer to this king of the sky, like some tribe, and timidly and courteously uncover the head upon meeting an intrepid fox.

But however much I asked about this subject, no one gave me
any information about such a prayer. The only thing they said
that the old people did was to call the sun father and ask it not
to hide its face. Today, when the country is invaded by whites and
● [797] even by people from the Old World, today when there is no
Chiriguano place that has not been trod by the foot of the missionary, founding missions here, passing through there, and in
another place exploring the will of the Indians, all has changed
and those who do not know of the existence of the true God are
few. There are few Indians who do not know that the sun is a
work of God and therefore incapable of receiving outward
demonstrations of veneration, when they do not even render it to
God (1).

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1. It is very probable that formerly the ancients were happy when the sun came out, as anyone would be happy, and that they would have a special fondness for it, whence comes the argument by some that they address prayers to it, but it is natural for man to be happy when the sun appears.

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The Santa Rosa Mission Band

135 /145 cont./
Caraparirenta there is an occasional stone of this, which has been brought there by water.

In Huacaya Canton, along the shores of the Pilcomayo on the lower slopes of the hills of Oriente, it is asserted that there must be mines or deposits of gold. A stream brings little nuggets to [648] certain places. Almost all the whites there say that the Indians pick up these nuggets, sell some of them, and work others into rings or earrings for their wives, but up to now, however hard the whites have tried to discover the place, they have never found an Indian who would take them (2).

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2. They say that in the woods on the peak of a small hill there are two bells hanging from a tree and in another place a building with two

/150 cont./

756 789 731 821 ● [797] Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields, but if the drought is general, the incantations are public performed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique. One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 755 In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164] 1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

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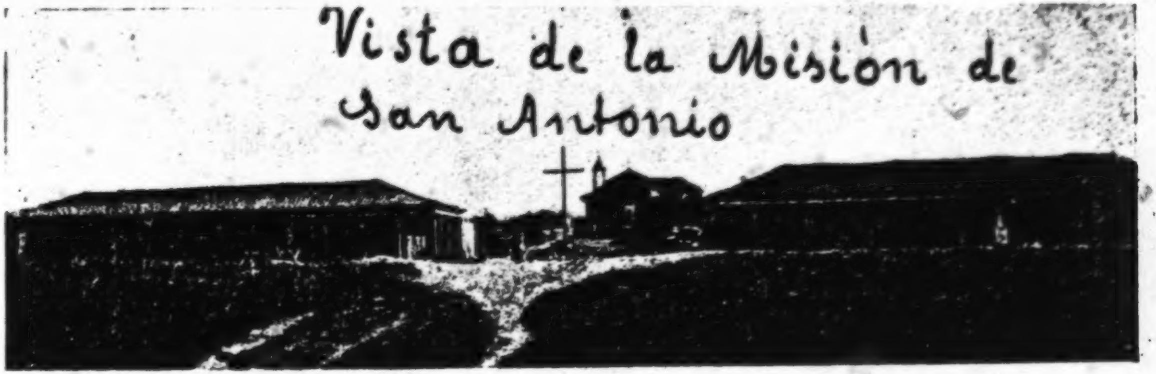
Vista de la Misión de San Antonio

Mission House of San Antonio del Parapiti

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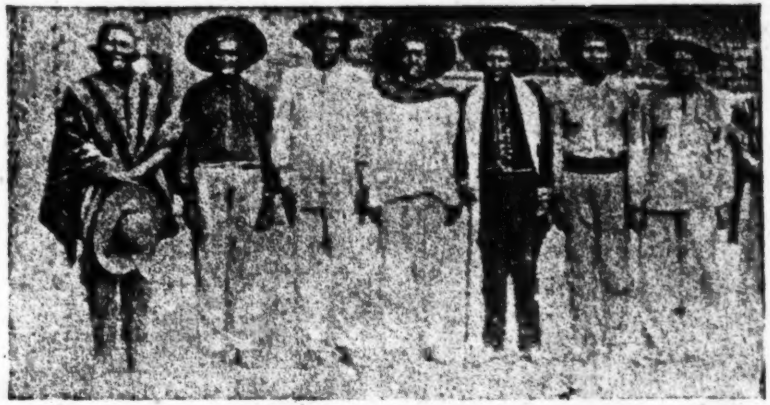

Group of Caciques from the Ivo Mission

/158 cont./

000 361 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, [114] [621] where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

•797 619 361 2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

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Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631] [643] 1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

/159 cont./
622 may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangũi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticûi,
[273] meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse
he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Gũiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently
692 arise in the planting season, since even among these people
there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

•[797] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done
to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes
the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
[643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Gũiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the
right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Gũiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

Girls' School of San Antonio del Parapiti

/164 cont./

622 643 648 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarüire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

● [797) 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661) 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/166 cont./

643 [631] Indians wanted it (2).

> 2. The regional cacique Tengua died in 1900, Machirope in 1905, and the others who have been named in the middle of the nineteenth century, except Chiturí. Baringai of Igüembe is considered a regional cacique without being one; he is the oldest known Indian, at least among the caciques.

Today only one of the former regional caciques is still living. This is Mandepónai, who must be about 84 years old, a very robust and obese Indian with a constitution of iron. His authority extends throughout the Gran Chaca. He is respected and obeyed up to a certain point by the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, and other known races; he is very well received in the other regions through which he passes, and his authority is not contradicted elsewhere, but is not respected either, /167/ because at the present time the Chiriguano element too has almost radically changed its political system; today it is the political authority which rules, and the cacique is a humble servant of any caray who comes to him asking for peons.

643 The Machareti Mission exists through his efforts, and he has
● 797 always been faithful to the missionaries. In the Curuyuqui
648 War, the Tunpa tried to get Mandepónai to use his influence to
669 make the Toba and Chiriguano of his region revolt, as Tengua did, but the great cacique was not to be moved; instead he and
662 his people went over to the side of the Santa Rosa Mission and the white Christians who had taken refuge in it.

At that time some whites, perhaps because of their hate for the missionaries of Machareti, tried to implicate Mandepónai as an accomplice of the Tunpa, but this calumny was belied by his praiseworthy procedure. He gave warning of the day on which the rebels were to burn the mission, went personally with his soldiers to Santa Rosa on January 27, before the final battle, and there confronted Tengua, accusing him of treason to the whites. His loyalty to the missionaries is to his glory.

/167 cont./

643 648 629 ● 797 662 and when he addresses his people he does not fail to remind them that if they enjoy peace they owe it to him, for he consented to the founding of their mission; more or less the same thing is said by other caciques or their successors, through whose influence the missions have been founded (1).

1. When the slander against Mandepónai was believed, the delegate Chavarría went to Machareti with all his forces to punish the cacique, but nothing came of it because it all turned out to be false.

/168/

500

Chapeer Six

Towns, Houses,and Work

Introduction

The glacial period and horrible icy places with their new flora and fauna in the dawn of the Quaternary era, a mysterious period for certain modern unbelievers, holds no mystery whatsoever for true believers, who see in it, or in its sudden appearance, a punishment for the disobedience of the first man. Adam sins, and the land, until then so beautiful and fecund, is covered with snows and ice, with brambles and briars; before his sin, no shelter was needed, but, as a result of rebellion against the Creator, he was laden with needs. /The remainder of the introduction on pp. 168-169 is omitted. The following illustration appears opposite p. 169. The remainder of p. 169 follows./

000 /175 cont./
remains joined better and is more compact (1).

• 797 1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 178 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574] 1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/187 cont./
301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[177] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts
in the presence of his companions (1).

> [797] 1. An interested party once said that the
> [114] mission in Yumbía had no purpose because
> [121] the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves, Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them
to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (2).

> 291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
> 302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
> 304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
> 178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

/189 cont./

291 Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for coolness the Cutama or tipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

Gala Dress

292

For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambícuai, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guasupi cangao, hat, the Ambícuai, sagum or frock coat, and
[554] the Guasupi timbiao, breeches. Because the doublet is an object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or caciques, to rich men, and to sorcerers.
292 It is made entirely of tanned skins, which are those of the wild
28 boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the
[824] bark of the Curupau, the astringent acacia or sevil, which contains a great deal of tannin.

126 Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like
291 the one made in the Santa Rosa Mission by the Indian
● 797 Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin exposition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Curuyuqui and other objects, such as the Yandugua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Potosí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (2).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Doroteo Giannecchini.

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some [296] time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] [797] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivu made his visits to the P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

[224] 1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means: companion of the shin bone. These are necessary for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 255/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Güiraesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Yandareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Prisca.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, [432] [437] which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today everything can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

/199 cont./

301 5. "Mboivera," or pieces of silver for adornment.

6, 7, 8. Metal tembetas.

9. A hollow-cane tembeta.

10. "Yapicuana," or band for the hair.

11. "Aguá," or long band for adornment of the queen in drinking festivals.

412 12. Wooden comb.

534 13. Porongo for playing as a musical instrument.

14, 15. "Senene," or Chiriguano flutes.

16. "Igüiramimbi" for playing as a musical instrument.

17. Stone ax.

/200/

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction

000 The theory of the founder of the transformist school, in which he attempts to demonstrate and establish the origin of the human race by means of evolution, is completely absurd. /The remainder of the introduction, pp. 200-202, is omitted in the translation. Page 202 continues as follows./

The Family

Genesis tells us of the origin of the human race, and outside of this book all is confusion; faith teaches us that God created the first man in His image and likeness, and later gave him a companion, taking her from his rib, from which it is deduced that the family began in the world, or in historical times, from the beginning of humanity (2).

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793
871

2. Readers already know the story which Anduari told me regarding the creation of

/202 cont./

> 797 the second Chiriguano man and the second
> 773 Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of
> 871 this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my
> monthly instructions to the infidels.

000 /The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621 59 603 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families. They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things; instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831 867 There does not seem to be any other race like the Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

> [797] [861] 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and
000 Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

797 /203 cont./ Let the reader consider that the work of the missionary, who strives for and dedicates himself to the reduction of the Indian, would not amount to much if he could make light of immorality, a sin which God anciently punished with two floods, one of water and one of fire, thus manifesting His just indignation with these words: Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine, quia caro est.

595 With these inclinations not at all restrained, but instead fomented with the five physical senses and all the faculties of the soul, it is not strange that there should exist among the Chiriguano a tendency to very frequent bigamy and polygamy as a luxury or a sign of greatness. /204/ If not all have many wives, it is either because it is not easy to support them or because they are not easily found, because every woman would like to be the only mistress in her house (1).

1. In the house of a polygamist or bigamist, the one who gives orders and is in charge as mistress and manager is the oldest, as long as she anticipates her husband's thinking; since, as she knows his irremediable incontinence, in order not to lose her authority in the house, she advises a second and third marriage, etc., and then the master of all of these women imposes the respect due the oldest woman.

[643] Almost all regional caciques are polygamists, and they
have a woman in almost every town of their dependency,
without counting the eight or twelve that they have in the town
where they live. Caciques can do this because they have
595 authority, although they do not give them anything. Formerly
178 polygamy was much more extensive. It is not so now because
[797] the race has been much reduced, and there has penetrated
everywhere, if not the missionary, the Christian, who at times
is a reproach for the lasciviousness of the carnal Ava.

/204 cont./

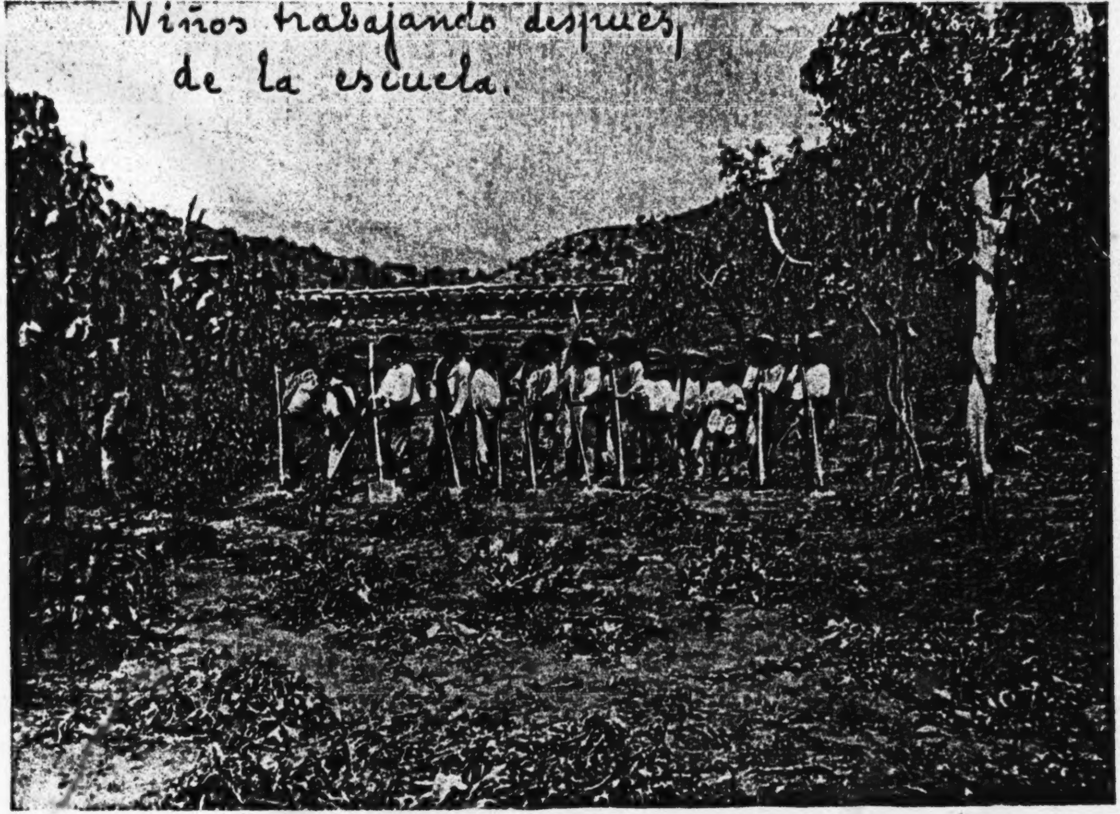
643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
● 797 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to
morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
574 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
643 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute
king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[582] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first
wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of
[167] wars. Today they are abundant because of the
emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]



Niños trabajando después de la escuela.

Education of neophytes through work

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/210 cont./
846 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of
178 the house until they are completely well, and they only do it
on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the
first time and present themselves at the door of the church to
receive the post partum blessing (1).

1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

846
302 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well,
and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with
urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is
844 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some
785 authors say that all the members of the family participate,
but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation,
and he does it for two or three days (2).

2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

● 797 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the
785 superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but
844 when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying,
178 they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the
customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very
attached to these customs and who tried in every way to
force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn
babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

/212 cont./
736 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She
603 grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, Isipocagua, and
824 washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her
853 breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously
for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They then look for the root and juice of the sámolo, or cipoi, wash the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their children again (2).

> 2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male child is the same as at that of a female child, because if the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter
765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old
855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized daughter.

797 What I am going to relate will better convince my
758 readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog
164 at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission
bit Cecilia Yaguándai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/213 cont./

● 797 first, came to me to be treated for their wounds, to which I
758 applied cotton soaked with ammonia, of which I also made
164 them drink five drops. The two went through a high fever for
four days, but they are alive. Cecilia did not consider her bite very important and did not come to me; I did not know that she had been bitten. She did not have a high fever either, because in fact scarcely any blood came out, according to what her companions say.

The month of January came, just six months after June, and the little girls who had been treated with ammonia again had the same degree of fever and recovered. The other girl began to be afraid of water and to be laughed at by her companions for this fear, so much so that she was the object of foolish tricks. She went down to the town, she wanted to drink water, was unable to, and she told her parents. At once she said that she had pain in her wrist, in her little breast, and in her shoulder, and nothing could be done to treat her; the sickness got worse and she received the last rites. The night before she died she tried to run out of the house; she howled without rest and tried to hit and bite her mother. In all, she had true hydrophobia, which carried her to the grave in three days (1).

> 1. The child Cecilia was bitten by the rabid dog right on her wrist, which is where the first pain began six months later. When I blessed her with holy water, she was afraid and shrank away.

Until she was buried, I did not know what had happened in the month of July, but when I saw such a similarity to rabies, I inquired and it turned out to be this which had
753 caused her death. Her parents, since they could not be
754 persuaded that the bite could produce an effect after so long
a time, attributed her violent death to sorcery, stating that this must have been done by a young man who a few days earlier

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Chapter Nine

881

Children, Puberty, the Tembeta (1)

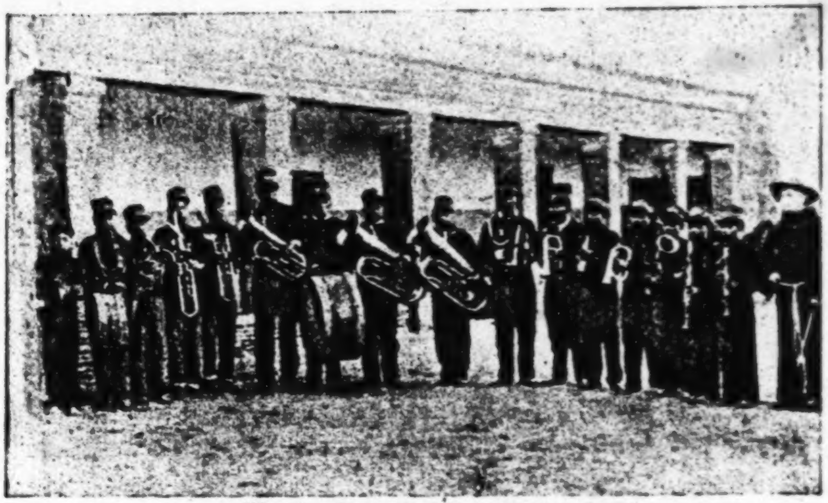
1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembeta for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

797 533 [126] At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Privaser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Potosí and Tarija missions.

[648] All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembeta and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

175 648 Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have bad hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.



The S. Buenaventura de Ivo Band

/217 cont./

175 The parents of these youths would not have thrown them-
648 selves into a disastrous war if the Supreme Government had
[797] quickly decreed the founding of the mission which they de-
sired, as can be read in the history of the Colegio de Potosí;
in it is clearly seen what the Ivu people did to try to have
the presence of a missionary father, because political authority
always showed itself to be humanitarian with the unfortunate
Indians.

It has now been 19 years since that bloodletting, and still the pampas of Curuyuqui are sown with human bones; one can still see traces of their fortifications, where they fought like lions, with such unequal weapons; the memory of that horrible and destructive occurrence is still retained (1).

> 1. Some 500 men and women died in the war, but almost all were outsiders; the others, who knew the place, saved themselves by taking flight and hiding. They do not like to have anyone talk to them about this uprising.

797 As a consequence of the war the decree to found the
871 mission came, and just a few days after the defeat the
[648] measuring and laying out of the necessary land was done.
[175] Today fathers and sons live tranquilly; some of them have
gone on to a better or to a worse life, many have experienced
the paternal government of the missionary, which they do
not tire of praising. The sons have learned the religion and
practice it. They have learned the alphabet and read books.
They have learned religious singing, and several of them
know and play the music which has been taught to them by
797 the missionaries. It is truly surprising to see the changes
which have been brought about in such a short time in such
bellicose Indians! This is the virtue of the Cross! Others
could have done nothing, as nothing had been done or will be

/217 cont./

797 done wherever there are no missionaries (2).

> 2. In every sense civilization brought by the missionary is preferable. Colonization of the sort which they are trying to implant today is very costly, brings little material progress and no moral progress. I refer to the latter more than to the former.

Education of the Children

000 In man, love and tenderness for his children is natural; just as the birds, the animals, and the very beasts of the forest love /218/ and take care of their young, this same inclination, with much greater reason, is found in the rational creature made in the image and appearance of God. /The remainder of this paragraph and the next two paragraphs on p. 218 are omitted in the translation. The last paragraph on p. 218 follows./

The true love of fathers for their children is only found in the Catholic Religion; this can be proved by many examples of incredulous persons who, despite their incredulity, taught the catechism to their children. Outside of Catholicism, /219/ the potential of the soul is not cultivated, a pure materialism is taught, and how can anyone who does not profess any religion at all educate his children? What education will he be able to give if, in addition to this, he is ignorant? His tenderness or love will scarcely have any effect, never a moral one.

855 This is the tenderness of the Chiriguano. They love their children truly; all of the work of the Chiriguano is only aimed toward the corporal well-being of the child; he gets his daily food for him, thinks about his clothing, sweats in order to shelter him and defend him from the inclemency of the seasons, from the fury of the winds, and from the impetuosity of the rain, but he does not concern himself with his morality.

/219 cont./

868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells
his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be
quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as
868 well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called
554 Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the
463 boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to
run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness
or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the
puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all
over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on
purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself
be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely
that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg
856 scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by
237 another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of
this, and upon recovering, they say that they
are very good at running and can resist fatigue
much more than those who did not allow them-
selves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical
lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for
war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order
[554] to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians
who know such strategy are called Queremba by their com-
panions.

721 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the
726 Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there.
● 797 He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be
the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets
without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the
Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do
not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because
they were sheltered in trenches.

Panorama of the S. Pascual Mission

/226 cont./

881 178

> do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. 581 If it is true that the Chiriguano women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored with her or she with him. ● 797 581 But this does not happen in the missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 185 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 178 177 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/234 cont./

539 "I further wish," the Aguara-Tunpa continued, "that you may never /235/ forget the day on which your bad luck made you inferior to your companion; take also this button which will distinguish you from the descendants of the one who is your superior." He made a hole in his lower lip and put the tembeta on him; and that was the beginning of the difference between the white race, or caray, and the Chiriguano, who believe that they owe their misfortune to the Aguara-Tunga (1).

1. Today few Indians believe in such a legend. They consider the fox to be a four-footed animal and the rascal that he is, and the young people listen to storytelling just because they like to hear it.

000 Here we have humanity left to its free will, without being enlightened by the true religion; they believe in a patchwork of lies and superstitions; they respect or are frightened by a wild animal, giving it the name of a marvelous being able to do good or evil to them; tremble in the presence of a dauntless fox, who is a thief without intelligence or speech, and disfigure the faces of their children, making the goodness, strength, prestige, and nobility of the individual consist of a piece of tin, wood, or hollow cane; they subject their tender and delicate damsels to rigorous fasting, to imprisonment for months and even a year, because of a false belief in sorcery, in supposed sicknesses and spells, ruining their health and even risking their lives (2).

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2. Almost all the present-day Chiriguano have a slight smattering of the true religion; for this reason they no longer concern themselves with their old customs of fasting, hiding, putting on the tembeta, and long hair.

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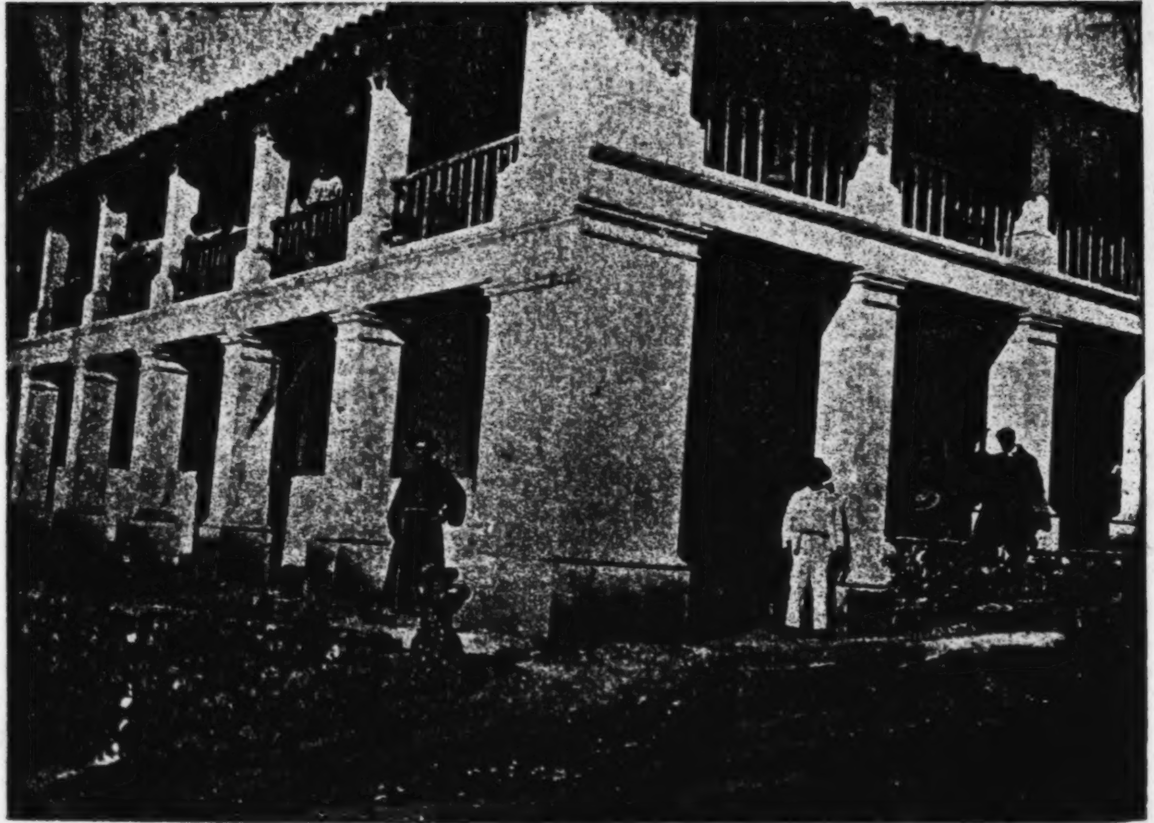
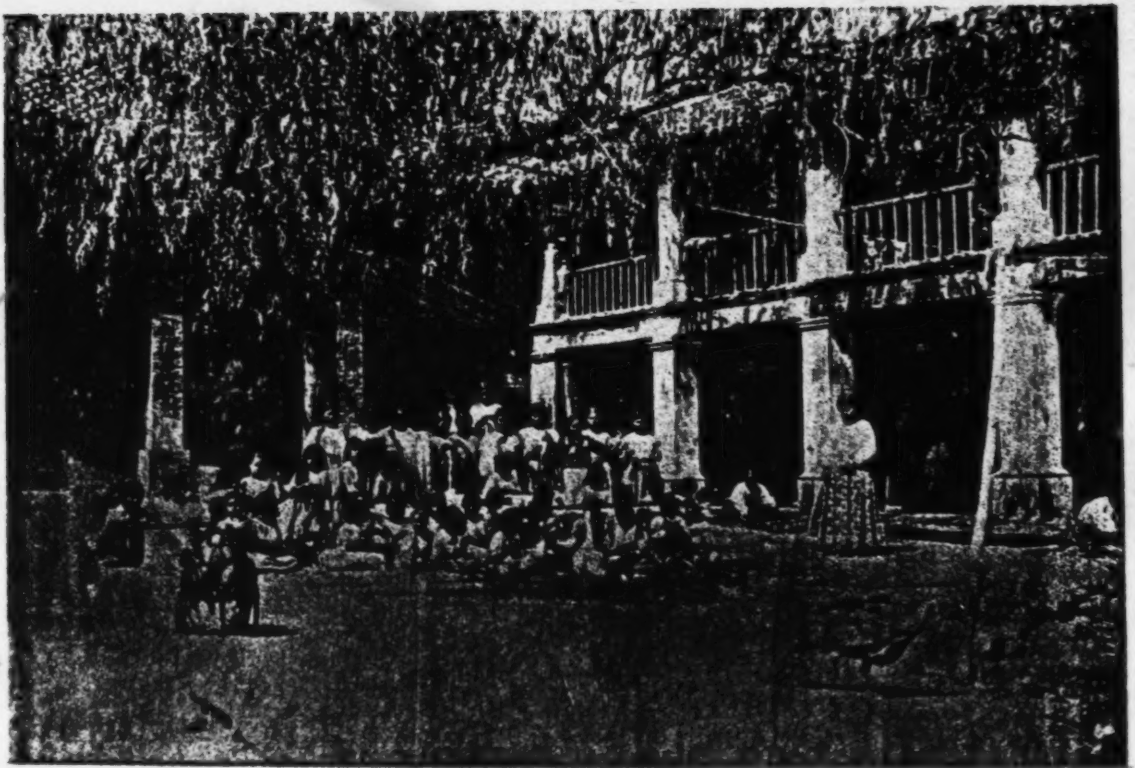


Girls' School



Patio of a Girls' School

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are 527 574 in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagüipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178] 1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! [797] [177] The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

/266 cont./

574 576 [194] The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 576 622 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egüeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best meal. 123 [622] The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./ • 797 771

2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P.362]

/266 cont./

797 771 that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574 576 /267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541 177 If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. [184] The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648] 1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero,

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175 History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants
727 of the region that they now occupy. Other savages
728 had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right
of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the
invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained
as vassals in their own land and little by little came to
an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

175 In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory,
648 leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they
[101] had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with
calling them with great contempt: Chiriguanos or Chirihuanos,
175 cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people
648 or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives.
●797 What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the
Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the
missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and
648 Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his
797 haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who
does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man,
who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of
Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience,
although much more gently, what they made the
[181] invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of
Curuyuqui, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot
be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that
has existed here (2).

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2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapíi with great cruelty; according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

/279 cont./

727 Those who are older, men and women, surround the poor prisoners and insult them until they are tired, recriminate against them for the war, to which their husbands may have given rise, mock once more the memory of the dead men who did not know how to defend their town, calling them men of no courage, good only for women's work, good only for making chicha, and when they are tired of talking, the festivities begin with drinking, dancing, and singing, with which they celebrate their splendid victory.

The prisoners remain silent, do not raise their heads, do not say a word, and even refuse to eat food if it is offered them. They cannot oppose the brutal acts of their conquerers, who would put an end to their lives if they attempted to do such a thing.
797 The last war of Curuyuqui is still living proof of what has been
727 said, but happily many unfortunate women had help in their misery because of the presence of the missionary (2).

> 2. When the defenseless damsels understood the intention of their masters, they ran away, making a joke of the vigilance of those brutes, entered the school as a last refuge, and learned religion.

727 During the days of celebration and afterward, they start
[525] playing their dice game, and they wager the prisoners, who are no good to them, among whom are the mature women, boys and children under seven, and an occasional girl whose new owner does
[437] not need her. When they are tired of them, they barter them or
[438] sell them for nothing, for a sheep, a goat, /280/ a hat. The sale or barter is not done in the town of the conquerers, but in others farther away. Thus it happens that many innocent boys and girls may find there relatives who would pay even more than what is asked for them.

164 /286 cont./ From This and Other causes come the many skin
757 diseases which do not let them sleep. The itch is cured with salt-
peter found in the dry stream beds. They call it Curuyuqui, or
salt for curing the itch, but this remedy does not always produce
its effect. The itch principally attacks those of few years, and
[237] nursing infants catch it from their mothers. Lepers are cured very
efficaciously by means of hot cow dung, and it is enough to apply
it two or three times for a cure within three days without any
further remedy, but they do not resign themselves easily to using
this repugnant but efficacious remedy.

164 Smallpox and measles are epidemics which appear from time to time; for this reason I do not put them in the list of endemic diseases like the former ones. The Chiriguano runs from smallpox as a person with hydrophobia does from water, since through experience he knows that anyone who gets it has a hard time being saved from a horrible death. When it enters a town, it sows fear and desolation. Sick people resign themselves to death, and the healthy ones flee in terror to other tribes. It seems that it is not easy to attack smallpox directly, and up to now only vaccination has better effects (2).

• 797
164 2. When smallpox breaks out, the missionaries go wherever their ministry is needed, like doctors and priests. Up to now none of them has caught it, perhaps because they are vaccinated or because they have different blood.

In 1909 the town of Cuevo, which is about eight kilometers from Yvu, was decimated by smallpox. I vaccinated all the people of Yvu and those who were not residents there. But the vaccine did not take in all of them, as occasionally happens. Nevertheless, few got sick and only two died. The remedy that I administered after the initial fever had begun was rather strong wine vinegar. The sickness ran its course only in those who had not drunk the /287/ vinegar or who had not been able to retain it in the stomach. I administered one cup every six hours three times, and it was enough for this terrible illness, which would cause so many deaths in Cuevo, to pass almost unperceived in the San Buenaventura Mission (1).

1. More people became sick and died in the

/287 cont./

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Santa Rosa Mission, but the use of the vinegar, which I began to administer later, made the mortality stop.

Measles usually attacks children, as does diarrhea, and because they are very delicate it is difficult to treat them, for which reason almost all of them succumb. Lemon and vinegar are efficacious remedies for both illnesses; in many cases I have ad-
164 ministered camomile with good results. Diarrhea in infants comes
261 from a scarcity of food, for then the mothers eat very hot things, such as the fruit or potato of serpentine arum, algarrobas, and other wild plants, as a result of which the infants drink the very hot milk, which damages their bellies and produces inflammation (2).

[757] 2. There exists near or around the lakes a herbaceous plant called pazote, and by the Indians and whites páico. A tisane made from this herb is efficacious against smallpox and measles.

Dysentery occurs in older people, and an occasional case of it shows up even in children. The cause of this illness is the very poor diet in times of want, when they eat wild roots and
164 fruits. Here there is a very effective remedy, which the whites
757 call meloncillo and the Indians Ñurantimbucu. This is a thorny bush with long thorns, from which its name comes. At the time when it buds, or in the springtime, its thorns are slightly purple, and its roots are the remedy. They are boiled and the patient is given this water to drink for a week. The eye sickness attacks all, big and small, without distinction and is so bad that some
[797] lose their sight completely or are left with only one eye. In the missions this is treated with white lead or lead acetate, and it suffices to apply it two or three times to bring about a complete cure.

164 The convulsive cough, or whooping cough, is another illness which attacks children up to ten years old, causing many deaths. It shows up in the cold months and even in the rainy season, some-
[757] times attacking grown-ups, among whom it does not cause death. There is in the hills a yellow flower which around here is called

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164 757 vira-vira. The tisane made from these flowers has salutary effects, but it is not strong enough to bring about a radical cure, /288/ especially if the precaution of wrapping the child up after the potion is drunk is not taken (1).

> 1. Most effective for whooping cough is the use of petroleum. The child is anointed from his forehead to his belly and made to drink a few drops. In 1910 almost all of those whom I treated with petroleum got well.

164 Consumption, or tuberculosis, attacks men and women and appears in both sexes as a stomach-ache. This pain can be considered the beginning of the sickness, which usually appears after the age of 40, but in certain places it carries to the grave persons who have not yet reached the age of 20.

In the Santa Rosa mission this disease alone, in less than ten years, caused the death of more than 70 schoolgirls; at that time this mortality was attributed to the bad water there, but as it is found in other places where the water is excellent there must be another cause. For young people or adolescents it could not be the continual fires, because there are none in the schools.

164 754 755 The Chiriguano has no remedy for tuberculosis, and one who gets it is resigned to death, because whether or not he attributes everything to sorcery, he believes in it and in the poison in this case; hence the sick person goes for help to the sorcerer, who to get rid of the illness, without succeeding, uses atrocious and even immoral means when dealing with women (2).

> ●[797] 2. The missionary buys remedies from the apothecary to treat the Indians. These remedies are almost always repugnant. If the sick person does not drink it in the presence of the missionary, he will pour it out; he has more faith in the sorcerer.

/295 cont./

765 589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead; he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death; she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to; they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302] [301] [292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30 centimeters; she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

587 589 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, ● 797 736 who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

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000 If the missionary goes into the forest and goes among the barbarians in the name of Christ, he teaches them to love him and to know him, and, like his divine Master, he is compassionate toward the afflicted and toward those who are suffering. Like Him, he does not close his ear to one who asks for charity, but divides what he has with the hungry, dresses the naked, and, when he has nothing else, at least has soothing words to console the sad. This is the life of the missionary, which, by great effort and much perspiration, is gradually transforming the places and the hearts of the inhabitants of this region, into which civilization has come through him. Oh, how the Supreme Government and the inhabitants of Bolivia should appreciate him, both of them, because of his work of moral and political civilization! But even should men not recognize this, his eternal reward will be greater (2). /Illustration appears here./

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797 2. The work of the missionaries is greatly appreciated in Europe. Some governments exempt them from military service and give them free passage on ships and railways. This is even done by the enemies of Catholicism. The missionary of San Buenaventura de Ivu /the author/ has been exempted from military service by the Italian Government.

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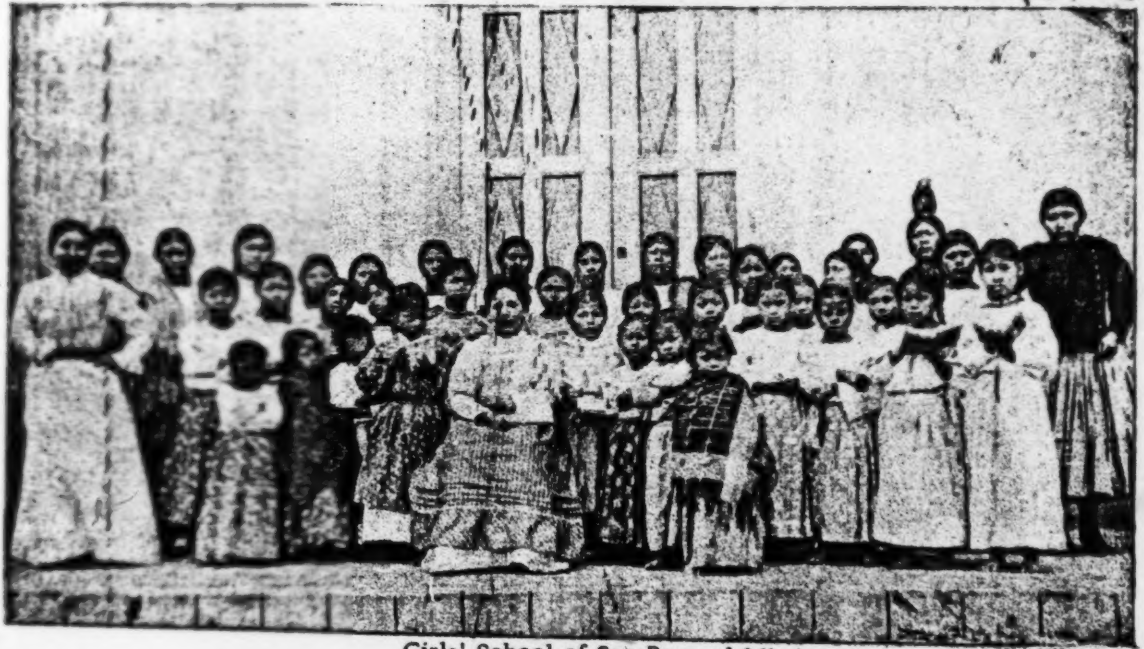

Girls' School of San Pascual Mission

/297/

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

797 648 The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white
race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian ele-
ment, which they consider to be the effective cause of their mis-
fortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which
not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners
and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the
Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and
in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over
the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an oc-
casional Christian family is not living. In many places the
161 Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through
464 epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather
466 considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either
648 because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt
which has been contracted (1).

797 The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo
648 River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely
[184] refused to have a conversion mission founded; they only con-
sidered that behind the missionary would come those whom they
considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would
gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted
with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century.
But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /298/ are still owners of
their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its
ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing
missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six
years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

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1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

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nothing yet begun, but rather with a most evident deterioration of the building and the gardens which the Franciscans of Tarija left behind so well arranged and so flourishing (1).

> 1. When the Tarairí Mission was established through the persuasive words of the missionary, it was attacked by neighboring tribes and by the warlike Huacayeños, who were located some 100 kilometers away. The Chiriguano missions were founded where there was no nucleus of whites.

The people of Tarairí were the first to see a Franciscan father in their territory, and they are the last to understand the material advantages that the mission brings to them. The people of Tigüipa, Macharetí, Boicovo, Cuevo, and Ivu, and, finally, those of the two Parapiti missions, called San Antonio and San Francisco, came to realize that only the missionary could present their territorial rights before the Supreme Government and assist them in countering the ill will of some whites who, because they were too tyrannical, brought about the Curuyuqui uprising, in which the Indian was completely humiliated when he believed he would exterminate all the whites (2).

> 2. Through the suggestion of the missionary, the Indians of Itatiqui were assisted in their small territory by the Prefecture of Santa Cruz, before which proceedings for purchase were in process. Today they have been helped by the Supreme Government, which has proclaimed an edict for measuring and setting boundaries, but they have scarcely half a league left to them, despite having possessed from time immemorial three and a half leagues.

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It has been seen in the course of these pages that the Indian is formidable at the beginning of battle, but if victory does not come soon, he turns cowardly and flees.

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726 soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at
648 Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can
181 be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano
were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to
winning or dying before falling prisoner.

Infidels

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177 The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /299/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

> 1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

> 2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

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177

in Pipi; to free themselves from such vexations, they have been asking for a mission. There are still more of them in Caipipendi; I have spoken with them repeatedly, because they have their own land, but they are still not inclined to ask for the founding of a mission, and the reason for this is clear, they are not greatly persecuted.

Even in this case the adult proposes the bases of the agreement; he asks for freedom to follow his barbarous customs, without being obliged to receive baptism and consequently to enter the church to hear Mass and to do other things proper to Catholic worship, because his hair and the tembeta are out of place in God's house, and they feel extreme embarrassment on seeing themselves mixed in among children, young people, and whites. The advantage that religion presents is the education of the youth and the baptism of the infants, who in great quantities fly straight to heaven, because there are many who die, regenerated by holy baptism.

Provided that he does not speak to them about religion or about receiving baptism, the missionary can do what he wishes with the adult Indian. It is enough if he only shows a little foresight from the beginning regarding the way in which they must live in the mission. One who freely and spontaneously gave his name obeys in every respect, provided that effort and care are taken to suppress any disorder or disobedience immediately.

[464]
[466]

If he is needed for personal labor, it is not likely that he will refuse, at least in the first years, even though he be paid no wages /300/ nor given anything, since he understands that the missionary orders the construction of a building, not for speculation, but for the moral and civil progress of his children. If the missionary ordains, as is the case, that during the night they cease singing, they will comply, in spite of the fact that at times it is necessary to remind them with some sharpness, noting here that words alone are of little value.

/300 cont./

797 177 In sum, the adult Indian infidel, when carefully watched over, is quite submissive in complying with the orders of the missionary father, and even when drunk he is gentle and humble. Although it is quite true that he wishes to know nothing of religion as long as he lives, in order not to learn to pray and to comply with what religion demands, nevertheless today almost all ask for or receive baptism at the time of death. The difficulties which formerly occurred with respect to the sick who were in danger of death, which would be interminable in the telling, have now almost completely disappeared. (1)

1. It is more difficult to baptize old women, for it is they who advise a sick person to refuse to accept baptism, while others coax him to accept for material gain. In such cases it is very necessary to know their language.

[595] If an Indian or a cacique had two or more wives when a mission was founded, bit by bit the missionary can make him give them up until he has but one. This requires some effort, but through persuasion and threats the desired end can be obtained, because this is one of the conditions which the minister of God sets when he is asked by the Indians to establish a mission. This is what I did in San Antonio del Parapiti, and they accepted all the conditions very willingly.

761 797 177 The adult Chiriguano is not baptized while he enjoys good health; he only does it at the time of dying and when he is almost sure that he cannot live any longer. In the past it was even difficult to baptize infants, because they were convinced that baptism is the cause of death, for in their ignorance they did not understand that those who receive baptism in a serious illness died because of the gravity of the disease.

The missionary, because of his long experience, easily recognizes who is in danger of dying, and it is unlikely that he will err, because the serious illnesses of the Chiriguano are known diseases, such as dropsy, smallpox, dysentery, and consumption, to name the principal ones. He thus baptizes precisely those who cannot live, because it would be very

/301/

761 797 177 difficult afterward to make them comply with what religion requires. The result of this is that the Indian believes without foundation that baptism causes death (1).

> 797 762 177 1. Some of them experience so much sadness with being adult Christians that they try to take their own lives; this happens when they are half out of their minds with some dangerous illness.

797 177 When a baptized person whose life is in danger survives, it is not likely that he will comply with what religion requires, and only at the missionary's insistence is the matter finally resolved, but he enters the church secretly, seeking the corners or the sacristy, so that no one will see him, and, when there is a change of missionaries, he takes advantage of the ignorance of the one who is new to the mission so as not to attend religious ceremonies. Then what kind of Christians are these? In church they are like idiots, being almost unable to learn prayers, either because it is difficult or because they are unwilling to learn them. In church they are little different from brutes; in their houses they behave like the infidels among whom they live; they play, sing, and drink the same as the rest of them (2).

> 2. We should not be too astonished by the behavior of the Indian who has survived after being baptized while gravely ill, because the poor souls had never seen a church in their lives nor did they know anything about the obligations of praying to and worshiping a Supreme Being, about whom, in their unbelief, they had no exact idea and barely a remote one.

In a mission already old, all this does not happen. There are Indians with tembeta and long hair, there are old women with their tipoy who go to Mass and comply with the other obligations of the Catholic Church, but almost all are mute, that is to say, they do not utter a single word of prayer. Some will say, and I too say, that with time the opposite will be the case, but

/301 cont./
● 797 this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano
177 missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost
all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being
replaced.

797 Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary
763 happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but
177 several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no
thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave almost no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others
[764] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will
permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered. When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent, he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily overcome (1).

797
177 1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that
the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

273 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable
act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great satisfaction, Asagüipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless,
[797] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not
hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appearing at the mission house.

/302 cont./

● 797 46 177 With regard to material things, the Indian in the missions has more freedom than the others outside. He does not lift a hand without being paid. He works in the construction of buildings, such as house, church, rooms for the teaching of letters, music, arts and crafts, he builds fences, and, despite the fact that all of this is for their benefit and that of their children, they are paid for it. They only have the task of planting and weeding, but in the end the missionary provides them with yokes of oxen, plowshares, and even harness, and the produce is theirs to keep or is used to buy merchandise. Thus they do nothing gratis (2).

> 2. The merchandise brought by the missionaries from Tarija and other places is distributed gratis to the students and sold at warehouse cost to the older ones.

They are completely free to work in their fields or for the whites, but they must tell the missionary or the cacique. Nevertheless, they do not always comply with this. If, however, someone needs them for work and they do not feel like it, they answer either that the missionary will not let them or that they must talk with him first, but it is enough for him to intervene and request it, and the Indian will come up with all sorts of objections, and if the missionary starts to listen to them all, soon nobody will obey him. He must show himself to be firm and that he knows how to distinguish true necessities or reasons from deceptions and traps, so that he will not be fooled. In the Chiriguano missions it is almost impossible to get 20 per cent of their labor, as the mission rules require, /illustration appears here/ /303/ believing perhaps that missionaries make them work for nothing, or are making a profit out of them (1).

> 1. The 20 per cent is not obtained in any mission. Only in Parapiti do the men work half a day per week, but this is a custom imposed by the priests before the founding of the mission, because they had no funds whatever. The missionaries take advantage of this custom for plantings and buildings which are for them themselves.

4: Nino--410 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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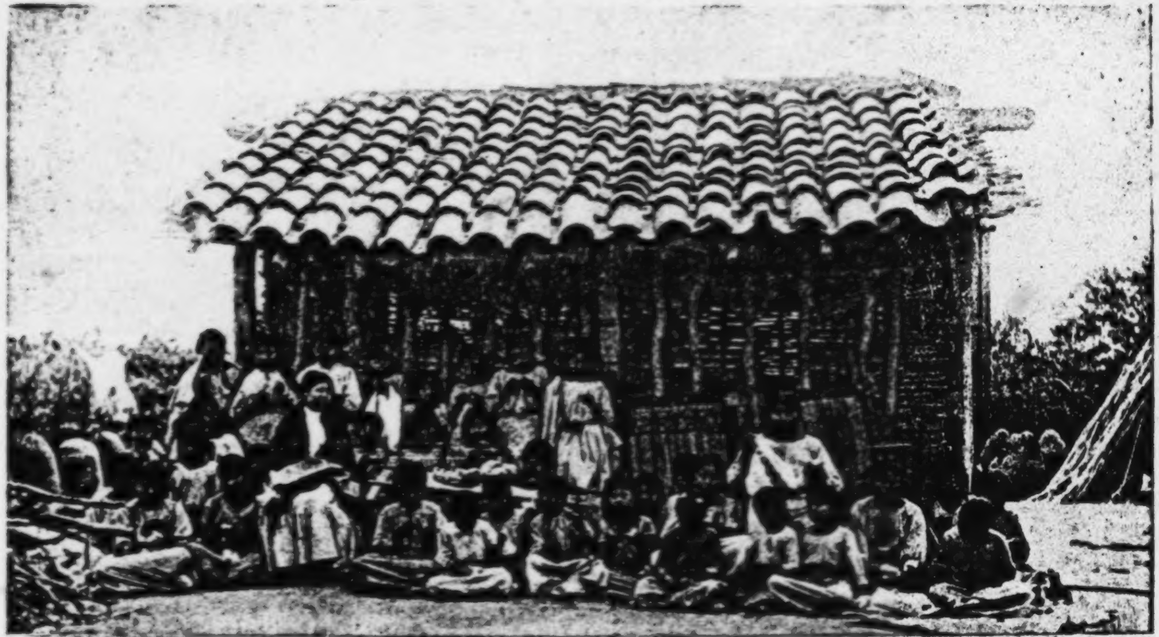

The School of San Francisco Solano, Working in the Shade of the Hurdle or Shelter

/303 cont./

362 356 ●797 What the Chiriguano thinks least about is his house; it is very hard to find one who makes a comfortable one. If he does begin to build one, he is a long time finishing it, if indeed he ever does, and if it falls into ruins, he bothers little about repairs; when it rains, the house fills up with water and becomes a mudhole, but he and the family are there sleeping and snoring like dormice. To make them renovate their villages, it is almost always necessary to threaten them and promise punishment and at times apply it, so that what happened in the fable of the toads will not occur.

461 273 The Indian is always ready to drink; if for this it is necessary to pile up firewood and carry it from great distances, no one shirks; everyone shakes off his natural laziness with great enthusiasm. Both men and women then become quite active for ten days or two weeks, in order then to drink for six days or more, during which their faces become repugnant, both because of the cosmetics with which they think they beautify themselves and because of their state of half or total drunkenness. Then they talk of many things, and then finally some of them remember about collecting from others, and quarrels arise from this, and to stop these and also to put an end to the idleness the missionary must firmly intervene. If the Indians had a good crop of maize and the drinking bout were prohibited entirely or in part they would organize them in the fields where they plant, and then worse things would happen.

797 273 Chicha by itself does not cause much damage in their stomachs, and they easily bear up for several days without more than a half-enebriation; the bad thing now is a scandalously widespread abuse of alcohol, which very soon intoxicates them until they are senseless and do not even know that they are alive. The missionary is vigilant in his enforcement of the rules, but it seems that they are members of a secret sect, and they tell him only when it is all over, or when they wish to avenge some grievance.

/303 cont./

Neophytes

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The infidels' children, or neophytes, grow up like their parents or even worse, being different from them in having a purely /304/ materialistic civilization; on the missionary's part special care is taken in their education; their parents hand them over, or, more accurately, the missionary takes them, from the age of seven, and they surrender them without the least resistance, but if they can hide them, they make no excuses and let them grow up in the forest (1).

1. Nobody should be surprised if they leave something to be desired and try to hide their children, because it should be taken into consideration that it was and is a pleasure for the infidel to see his son grow up to be like him.

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When they have entered the school, the children learn from the first letters up to writing, if they can; the more intelligent even learn music, and the most able learn masonry, tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, and tanning. The school is daily, morning and afternoon, and all of them attend from the age mentioned until they are grown up or married, which generally occurs at the age of 18 or 20. The children are absent from school only by permission, but there is never any lack of those who, when they can, mock the vigilance of the teacher, as even happens in the great centers.

The children have time to spare in which to learn reading, writing, and all that they ought to believe and practice in order to demonstrate their religious beliefs through good works. They are not ignorant of what our Holy Mother Church demands; they see the good examples of fervent Christians as well as the evils of others, and, since humanity is more inclined toward evil than toward good, the tender plants, not well grounded in the practices of Religion, can easily adhere to what is contrary to divine law

/304 cont./

797 and our Holy Mother Church (2).
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177

> 2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

> 1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

797 What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites
177 of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor
273 and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times
of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

167 In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the
593 establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse
578 that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they
lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

/305 cont./

167 knife; they learn to use it like the gauchos, get into fights, are
593 injured, and even get killed, and, when they return to the mission,
578 they only bring a little black clothing for themselves, a trifle or
nothing for their wives, to whom they deliver a sovereign beating
on the first chance they get, with reason or without, and then, at
the first drinking bout they molest peaceful people, disturb public
order, and always or nearly always it becomes necessary to bewail
167 the spilling of blood. Let there be added to all of this the fact that
● 797 the virus of irreligion is beginning to be inoculated hereabouts,
and inasmuch as they are not well grounded in the dogmas of the
Catholic faith, the result is that those who do not behave like
infidels or indifferent persons are Protestants on the haciendas of
the Argentine Republic and Catholics in the mission.

000 There is no doubt; moral, religious, and civil progress is the work of time; it is not the work of 40 or 50 years, as some believe. How long does it take to implant social reform among civilized people? How long did it take the Church to become established in the Roman Empire? Truth fought against error for more than 300 years; she was persecuted, shut up in the catacombs, and bathed in the blood of millions of martyrs of the Catholic faith, but in the end she triumphed and raised herself, radiant, above the ruins of error which had reigned for so many centuries.

797 No effort to implant social reform is made in the missions; what is being done is to build, to uproot the Indian from the jungle, to make him come out of barbarism, and to begin to teach him to be a man, to consider himself nobler than the brute; an effort is being made to remove from him the superstition /306/ in which he was born, so that he may believe in the maxims of the true faith. What sacrifice then must it not cost the missionary, who spends the best years, or even all the years, of his life in order to realize this grandiose project without earthly recompense, but rather with the marked scorn of those who should appreciate his highly civilized work (1).

1. The Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi has been in the Potosí Missions since the year 1872; almost all the missions have been founded by him;

/306 cont./

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> no son of Bolivia can glory in having worked as this man has for the nation which did not see his birth. If others work, they are well paid, but not the missionaries.

It has already been noted above that the children, in addition to writing, are taught music, arts, and crafts; thus, what Campos says, that the missionary is trying to make an anchorite out of the Chiriguano, is not true. It would be more than enough for the missionary if his neophytes simply practiced the Religion like faithful Christians and, like the inhabitants of the Republic, obeyed the laws of the Nation. For this reason, after having learned what they ought to do and practice and what has been said above, they help their parents with the work in the field; others lend their services to the whites by day, week, or month (2).

> 2. It would be possible here to list a pleiad of the missionaries of Tarija who have sacrificed themselves civilizing the Chiriguano; instead of thanking them, Campos' ire was raised against them. As a National Delegate, he should have done the former; in other regions the missionaries would have been decorated.

The poor missionary buried here far from the centers of civilization strains to make his town flourish, even materially; he teaches them everything he knows when time permits, tries to have them instructed in the rest outside of the missions, in the capitals. The lovely buildings, the grandiose churches, the well-organized orchestras are the work of neophytes under the immediate direction of the missionary, but what deceptions! When he least expects it, the musicians disappear one after another, the blacksmiths and other skilled workmen take flight, some temporarily and others remain in a foreign and distant land for long years, deserting wives and children. The material suffering which is experienced in the missions is bearable, but the moral suffering is not so much so; nevertheless there is resignation throughout, because God allows it to be thus, and this is

/306 cont./

797 continually shown (3).

> 3. A rest is almost imperative after a long stay in the missions, in order to refresh the spirit, because a bow which is always bent breaks, says the Evangelist St. John.

/307/ There is no traveler who does not marvel upon considering the progress of the missions, upon considering the beautiful works of the Indians, when they think that years ago there were impenetrable jungles and bare hills on the site now occupied by the grandiose temple and buildings. As was said by an enlightened Englishman, Protestant in religion, of course, the Catholic missions among the Chiriguano are like oases in the desert, and to see them at a distance stirs who knows what in the heart; even I do not know what I experience when on some journey I again approach and see them in the distance.

The Method

The method established since the beginning of the first founding of the missions cannot be improved upon, in that it looks toward moral and civil progress and has yielded practical results, especially in some missions where, despite the fact that they have been in existence only few years, almost all speak the national language moderately well. Is this not a near prodigy, achieved with a race whose language has no analogy with
000 civilized languages? /The remainder of p. 307 and the first paragraph on p. 308 are omitted. The remainder of p. 308 follows./

167 464 [797] Following the method which has been implanted, the missions progress and would progress further if the Chiriguano were not so changeable. Neither in their towns nor in the neighboring cantons is there any lack of work for them; but rather it is day laborers who are not to be found; they prefer to go far away where they may earn less than here, spending their small gains on things that are useless and harmful to them (1).

[511]

> 1. There are neophytes who stay on the haciendas

/308 cont./

167 464 511 of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years; they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101 167 2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

797 871 191 177 The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

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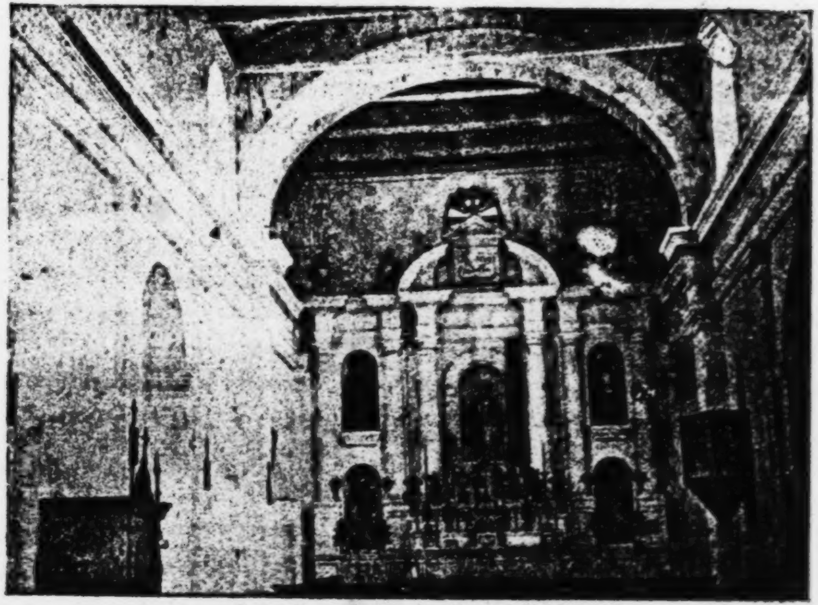

Interior of the S. Pascual Church

/309 cont./

797 Should this method be followed, in a few years nobody would
871 know that the mission Chiriguano belong to the race, because
868 little by little the parents would teach their children the Spanish
191 language, as I have already seen them do in the San Pascual de
Boicovo Mission, and, if the morality still leaves something to
177 be desired, later perhaps by means of preaching, the advice of the
missionary, and the example of those who are good, all will be
corrected. *Semen est verbum Dei*; it does not fall upon completely sterile ground (1).

797 1. The San Pascual de Boicovo Mission is so
177 advanced in every respect that application has
been made for it to be promoted to the rank of
parish. In language, clothing, and behavior they
differ little from the whites.

797 Almost from the beginning the schoolgirls were forbidden
291 the use of the *tipoy*, being forced to dress in the same way as
the women residents of the nearby towns; today they are very
177 accustomed to the said clothing and do not change it for any
reason in the world in the missions; only those girls who run away and even practically denounce their religion dress in the *tipoy* again, like the infidels, in order not to be recognized. By means of the teaching of the Catholic religion, the learning of the national language, and the change in clothing, the transformation is continually taking place, until little by little the distinction between the races will disappear, by means of the union of their tastes.

What the missionaries have done for the clothing of the girls, they are also doing for that of the boys, trying to make it decent. For both boys and girls, so long as they reside in the schools, the missionary of each mission provides their clothing, having it brought from some departmental capital and distributing it free of charge twice and even three times a year, or when he sees the needs of each student. In this way, after they are married, they themselves work in order to continue dressing in the same fashion or better than when they were in school, since some also wear socks /*botines*/ and shoes, and there are a number of women who

/309 cont./

● 797 291 177 in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

000 [184] [492] 2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

Conclusion

797 In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the Franciscan missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[648] The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive. [177] /312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

000 1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today,

/332 cont./

000 Music of the Mbapa Páure /omitted in the original source/
Chiriguano carnival 361
Music of the Allelufa /omitted in the original source/
Bows, arrows, etc. 368
Group of Choroti Indians 384
Choroti Indian houses 392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission 401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti) 410
Interior of the San Pascual Church 418
Group of Mataco Indians 422
Group of Toba Indians 430

/The corrections in the list on p. 333 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

101 Note: The map which is found at the end of the work con-
102 tains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should
103 be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo
131 toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between
133 Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy
361 the left bank of said river; (4) Ibo occupies the right bank of the
●797 Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the
bank of the Pilcomayo River.

4: Nino--447 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Map of the Gran Chaco

by Father Bernardino de Nino

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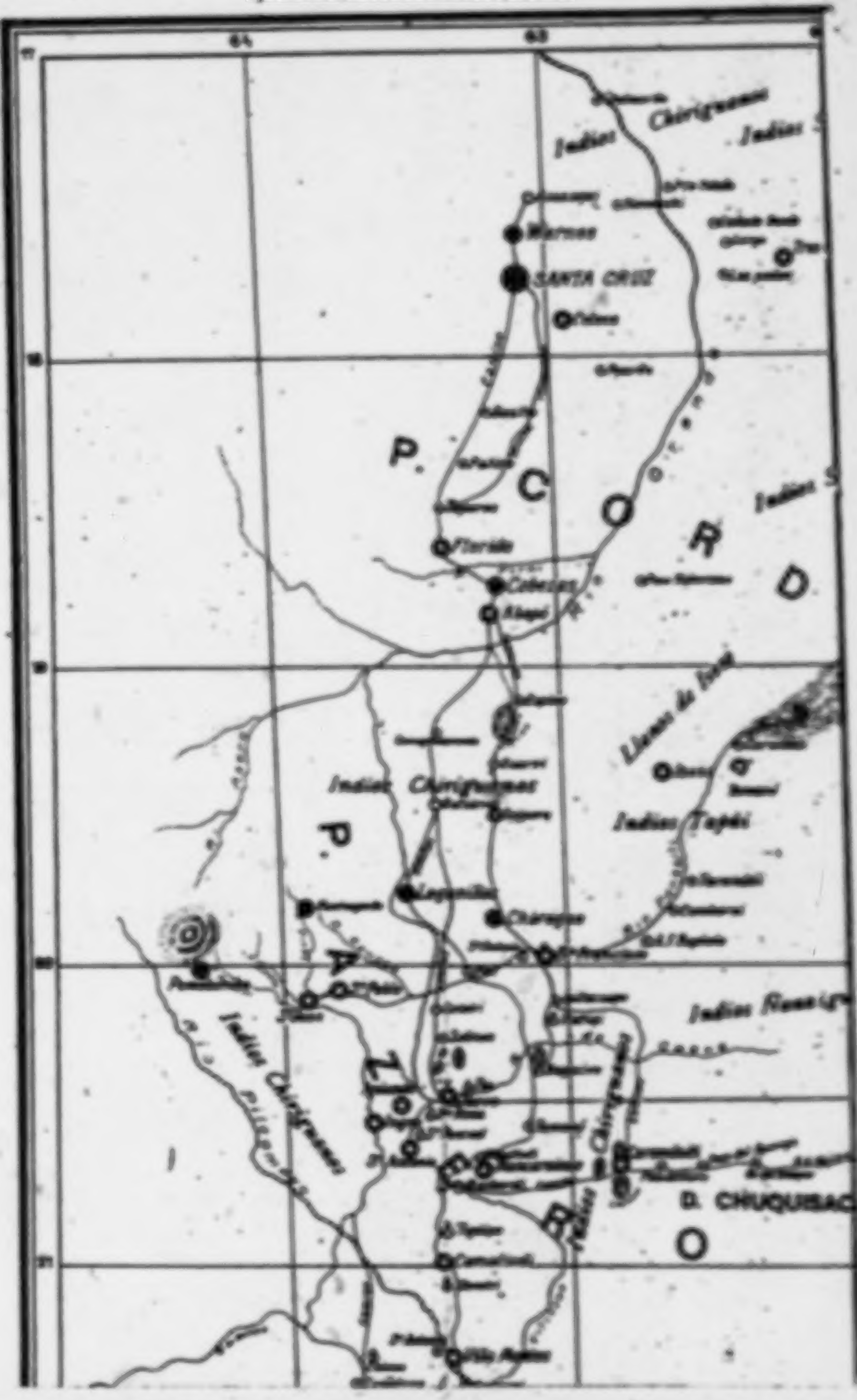
● 797



64
63
Indios Chiriguanos
Indios S
Warnes
SANTA CRUZ
P.
C
O
R
D
Indios S
Florida
Cabezas
Llanos de Isoso
Indios Chiriguanos
P.
Indios Tapii
Charagua
A
Indios Chiriguanos
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I
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D. CHUQUISAC
O

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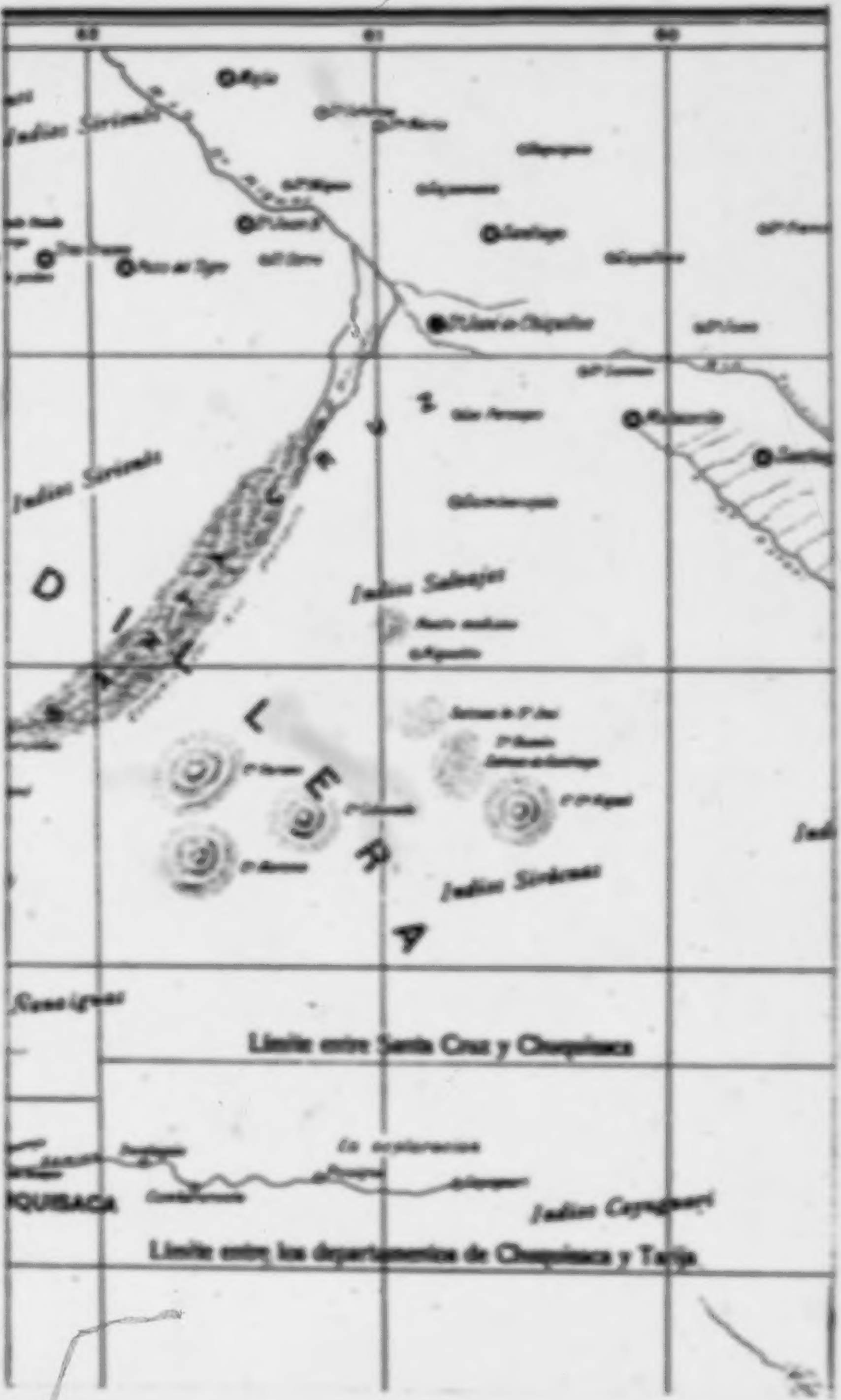
Indios Sirionós
Indios Sirionós
CORDILLERA
Indios Salvajes
Indios Sirionós
Límite entre Santa Cruz y Chuquisaca
En exploracion
Indios Cayuguari
Límite entre los departamentos de Chuquisaca y Tarija

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103
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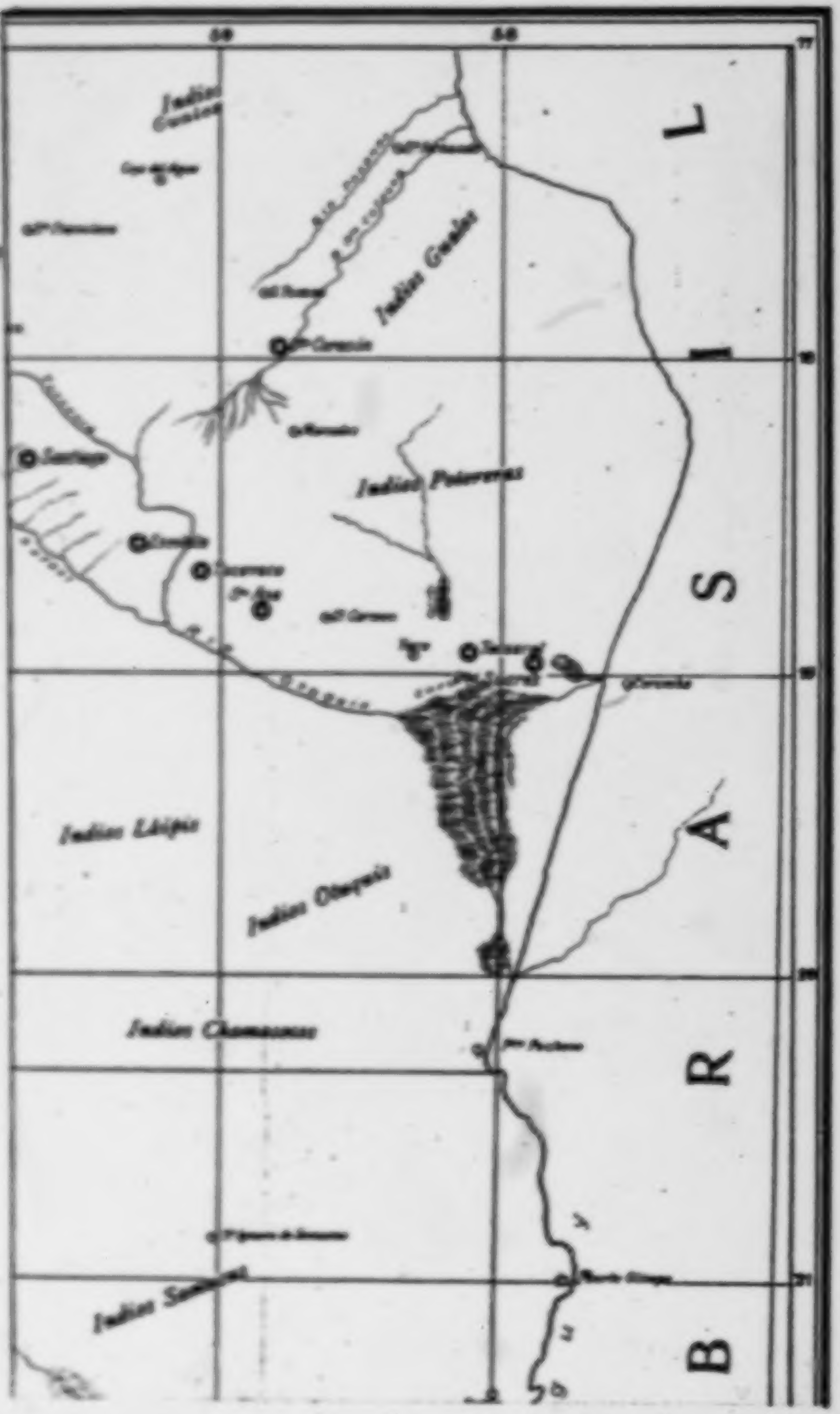
133
361
● 797


Indios Guanas
Indios Potureros
Santiago
Indios Otuquis
Indios Chamacocos
Indios
B R A S I L

Some Choroti live near Yacuiba. In nearly all of the c
Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There 101
are also several large missionary stations in their territory. 162
Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Sta Rosa to the 131
north of Sta Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who [797]
sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion,
live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites.

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and c
partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine ce
mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the 131
valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards 133
the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests.
There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely c
wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply ce
of water is the governing condition for settlement in the 361
land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there 312
is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti.

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the c
Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Pa- ce
rapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande 133
may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the~~y~~ dry season. During c
the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ce
ford. Fish are plenti~~y~~ful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we [226]

Both men and women among the Chiriguano and Chané have sandals which, however, they seldom wear. In Part I of this work I have given an account of the geographical distribution of sandals in S. America. Obviously sandals are a cultural element which the Chiriguano and Chané have got from the area of civilization in the west.

c
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e
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[177]

A pair of sandals with fastenings differing from the usual kind are depicted here. A sandal with very similar binding but of another shape is described and depicted by Eric von Rosen[1]) in his recent, splendid work.

c
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[114]

The Chiriguano and Chané wear girdles which as a rule are woven, though they are sometimes made of leather. As I pointed out in Part I, the woven girdle belongs to the western cultural elements and the leather belts to the southern. The leather girdles worn by the Chiriguano and Chané are provided with pockets and sometimes ornamented with coins, and are consequently imitations of the gorgeous cincture worn by the Argentine gauchos. Nino[2]) is of the same opinion, and he points out that they are called »bosa» (from the Spanish word »bolsa»[3]) owing to their being provided with a pocket.

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As already mentioned in Part I the woven »head-band» or frontlet also belongs to the dress of the Chiriguano and Chané-men. The frontlet is certainly a western culture-element.

Chiriguano and Chané shirts and ceremonial tipoys are of native make and are often dyed blue with indigo. The frontlets are blue or red. Chiriguano and Chané women wear a kind of hair-band with tassels which they most likely learned to make in the missions.

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[386
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[1]) (4) Fig. 84, P. 127.

[2]) P. 191.

[3]) »Bolsa» is »bosa» in the Chriguano languages as these Indians do not pronounce l.

XX.

Musical instruments.

C ce 534 The Chiriguano and Chané have the following musical instruments: drums, flutes, whistles, and trumpets. Among the latter tribe I have also seen the panpipe and the musical bow. The panpipe may possibly occur among the Chiriguano too.

I have already, in Part I, dealt with the drum, the whistles, and the musical bow. The two former, I concluded, were Peruvian, the latter a post-Columbian culture-element.

C ce [177] When studying Indian musical instruments we must bear in mind that, in post-Columbian times, they have learnt a good deal from Whites and negroes.

C ce ● [797] [212] At the mission stations the Indians are always instructed by the missionaries in music. At the Bolivian mission-stations it is not unusual to come across Indians who very well understand musical notation, though unable to read or write. At the Chiriguano mission stations there are full-blown musical bands.

C [192] A large drum is called by the Chiriguano »angúahuasi«, a ordinary drum »angúa« or »angúarai«. Like the Guarani Indians in Paraguay the Chiriguano call a mortar »angúa«. The Mataco sometimes make drums by stretching a skin over a wooden mortar. So too, if we are to be guided by the name, the Chiriguano drums must originally have appeared.

The long wooden-whistle (fig. 35 A) is very common among the Chiriguano and Chané, and often of great size; the round wooden whistle is more rare. Both are often elaborately carved.

C
Ce Weaving-bodkins of bone are found among the Quichua.
286 Lehmann-Nitsche depicts one from Puna de Jujuy[1]) and
*171 I found one in an excavation at Ollachea,[2]) Peru. Cobo[3])
mentions their use by the Incas.

C
Ce The large fabrics woven by the Chiriguano and Chané
286 are not adorned with figures. On the other hand, it is not
531 rare to see ribbons with woven human figures and other
ornaments (fig. 57). The Chané on the Rio Parapiti are
Ce said to have learnt these ornaments from a Quichua woman
[177] who had immigrated to these parts. The Chiriguano girls
C are never seen to wear the ornaments they have learnt to
● 797 embroider at the mission schools. These are flowers and
871 the like, generally European ones, which interest the In-
531 dians very little, and are too strange for their fancy. This
286 does not prevent the work they do at the mission schools
177 being excellently done. At the mission schools the Indian
girls also sew and crochet lace. But they never make these
things once they have left school.

C
Ce
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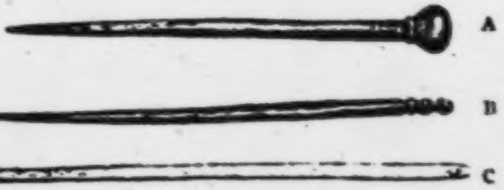

Fig. 56. Weaving-implement of wood. A and B from the Chiriguano. C from the Chané.

A = R. M. E. 48. 1/8. B = R. M. E. 146. 1/4. C = R. M. P. 21. 1/4.

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[1]) Pl. IV. C5.

[2]) (3) Pl. 3. Fig. 12.

[3]) «Van apretando y tupiendo la tela con un hueso puntiagudo y liso» .... Cobo T. 4, p. 204. Cobo gives a description of the Peruvian loom. P. 203.

C
Ce is conservative, which may partly be connected with the
177 fact that for him, as KARSTEN has pointed out, colours and
301 ornaments have a great magical importance. When the
[439] Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their
[822] labrets, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were
wont to fasten in them.

C
Ce When they come across anything in the culture of the
177 Whites that approximates to their own conception of the
ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adapting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

B. *The influence of the bronze age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

C
Ce In the table 21 I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably
[128] obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the men's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the feather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrograving, several musical instruments, games, etc.
C When we know with what interest the Indians have em-
Ce braced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they
[797] have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

6: Nordenskiöld--1 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/Pages 1-147 (Introduction and Chapters 1-8), Plates 1-15, and Figs. 1-73 are omitted in the translation./ 000

/148/ Chapter Nine

The Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians C Ce

Just as I have tried to give a picture of the life of the 101
Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, I shall also try to describe the
Chané and Chiriguano Indians and my various visits among them. C
These Indians are considerably more advanced than the "savages" Ce
of the Chaco. For the most part they live in a state of de- [177]
pendence on the whites, and their old unique culture is
disappearing more and more. C

The Chiriguano are now also to a very considerable ex- 177
tent Christians. For more than 300 years, first the Jesuits 797 ●
and then the Franciscans have tried, with varying results, to
convert them to the one soul-saving Christian faith. Even Ce
now there are several mission stations among the Chiriguano, 797 Ce
but none among the Chané. C

In the Chané and Chiriguano we meet people with a 101
higher culture, people who are entirely different from the Indians about whom we have read in the preceding chapters. Comparisons between the two types of culture that we come across in the Chaco are, naturally, of interest. Ce C

What will perhaps surprise the reader most is the fact 101
that the two primitive cultures are able to exist side by side, 177
and have doubtless done so for centuries, without fusing, indeed, without learning from each other, and this even though there are no natural boundaries here.

Ce
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/150/

Unfortunately, I do not know whether Vocapoy undertook the long journey to the village of the great chief, but, as a result of the surveying, I won the confidence of the Indians.

Ce
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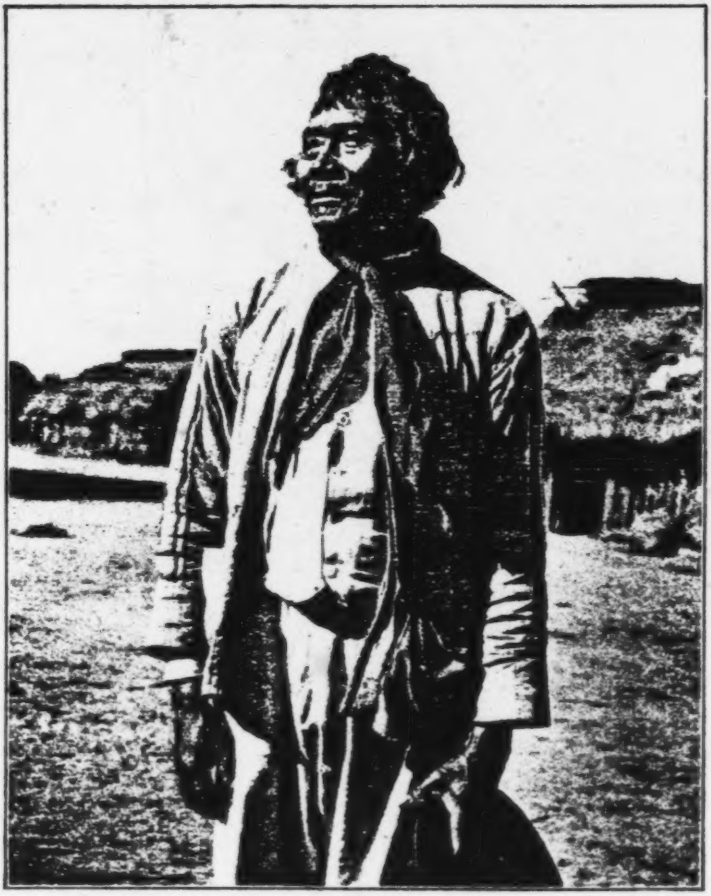

Fig. 75. Chané Indian.
Rio Itiyuro.

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C
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101

When I left the Choroti and the Ashluslay at the end of July, 1908, I proceeded by way of Yacuiba to San Francisco on the /151/ Rio Pilcomayo. San Francisco was a mission station which the Franciscans had had among the Chiriguano, but which /Fig 76 appears here/ has now been abandoned. Not far from it live the Tapiete Indians among whom I spent a week in August, 1908.

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other 123
fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 439

There are always two villages in these mission stations, 437
one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt 361
more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more 797 ●
fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the
people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in
their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent.

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through 133
which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river
after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the
Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected [135]
mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere
in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape
that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco.
The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The woodland, 137
when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monotonous. 241
The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts
seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge 731
swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the 136
woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds.

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting 114
Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti.

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the 133
/153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has
left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing
its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio
Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is
lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand.
If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost
tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its
part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of 137
bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti.

SF10

Tapiete SK13
Chane SF8

/153 cont./ C

In the dry season the wind heaps large dunes along the banks 133
of the river. After it has left the mountains, it does not receive 132
a tributary. The Rio Parapiti is very wide, but never deep. During the driest period its bed is transformed into a sand desert where the wind plays with the fine river sand. When it storms, the sand is swept across the bottom of the river. If one wishes to cross it on such days, one may perhaps not get his feet wet, but he must shield his eyes. C

The Rio Parapiti is rich in fish, but the fish are tiny. The 13.
banks are quite fertile, but inasmuch as they are flooded during the rainy season, the harvests are easily lost. Often in the dry season everything is wasted by the scorching droughts. The locusts, too, hawk about in these regions and leave behind in their own unappetizing bodies a poor substitute for what they have destroyed. C

On the Rio Parapiti, high up in the mountains, live the 101.
Quichua Indians, then come the Chiriguano, beyond them, near the river, the Tapiete, also called Yanaygua, then the Chané, and finally, in the unknown wilderness, the Tsirakua Indians. C

My first visit on the Rio Parapiti was paid to Father Carmelo, 114
who had a small mission station there among the Chiriguano. I 797.
became very fond of this monk; /154/ he had such confidence-inspiring friendliness. He is one of the missionaries who are needed here, people who desire and are able to sacrifice themselves for others, who show an equally great friendship toward all. C

I now continued along the Rio Parapiti to Isiporenda on the 114
north bank of the river. The Tapiete live opposite Isiporendo. T [131]
I shall later describe a visit that I made to them. Ce

At Isiporenda I met the first Chané, or, as they are called 114
here, Tapuy. I then visited most of their villages. I made the [101]
acquaintance especially of some of their storytellers, of whom [538]
Batirayu, the nephew of the last great chief, Aringui, became [123]
my good friend.

From the lower Rio Parapiti I proceeded by way of Charagua, C 114
a village inhabited almost exclusively by whites, to the Caipipendi valley, where I stayed with the Chiriguano chief Taruiri.

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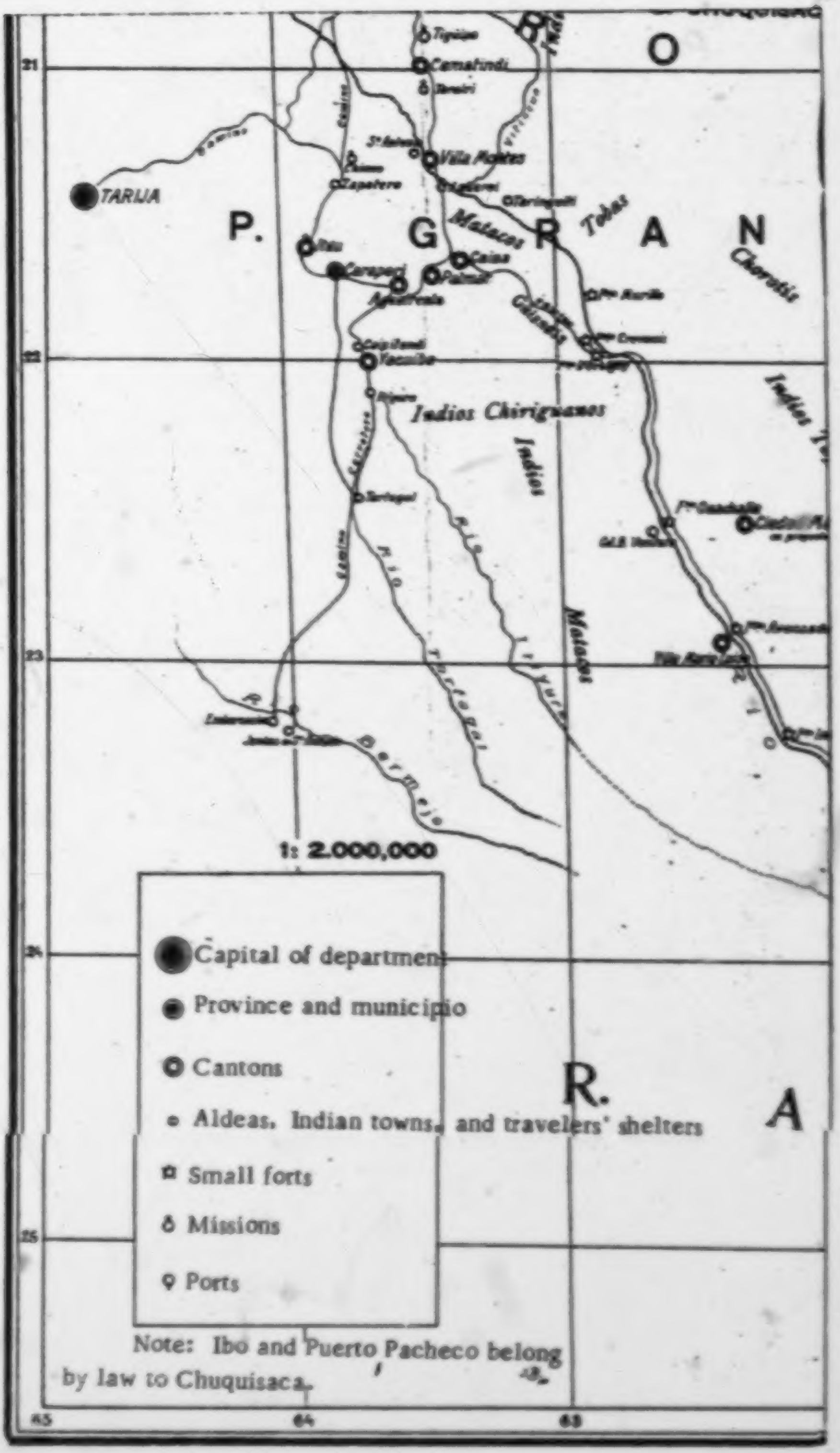
O
21
Camatindi
Villa Montes
TARIJA
Zapatera
P.
G
R
A
N
Matacos
Tobas
Chorotis
Itau
Caraparí
Caiza
Palmar
Aguairenda
22
Yacuiba
Indios Chiriguanos
Indios
Matacos
Rio Itiyuro
Rio Tartagal
Rio Bermejo
23
1: 2.000,000
24
● Capital of department
● Province and municipio
○ Cantons
• Aldeas, Indian towns, and travelers' shelters
Small forts
Missions
Ports
R.
A
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65
64
63

Note: Ibo and Puerto Pacheco belong by law to Chuquisaca.

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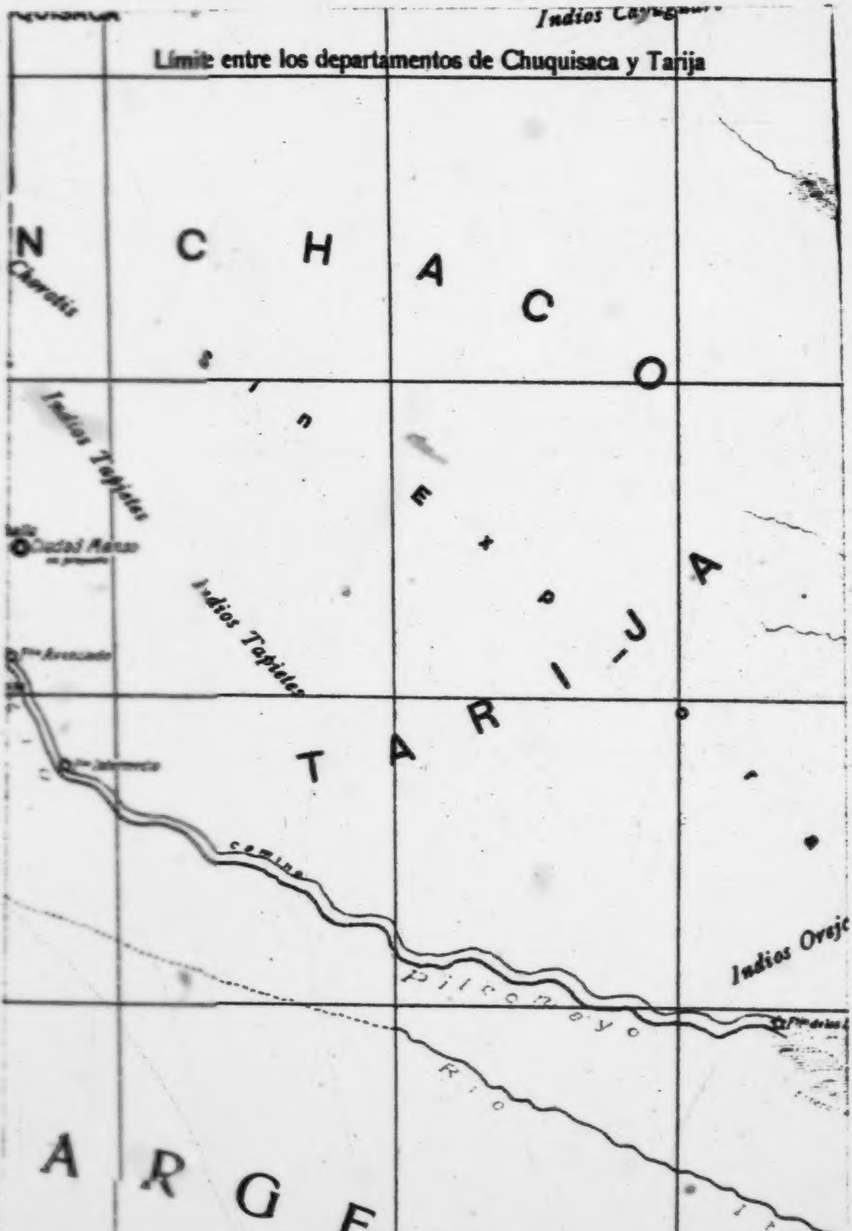
●797


Indios
Límite entre los departamentos de Chuquisaca y Tarija
N
CHACO
Chorotis
Indios Tapietes
Indios Tapietes
TARIJA
camino
Pilcomayo
Rio
Indios Orejc
ARGENTINA
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61
60

4: Nino--452 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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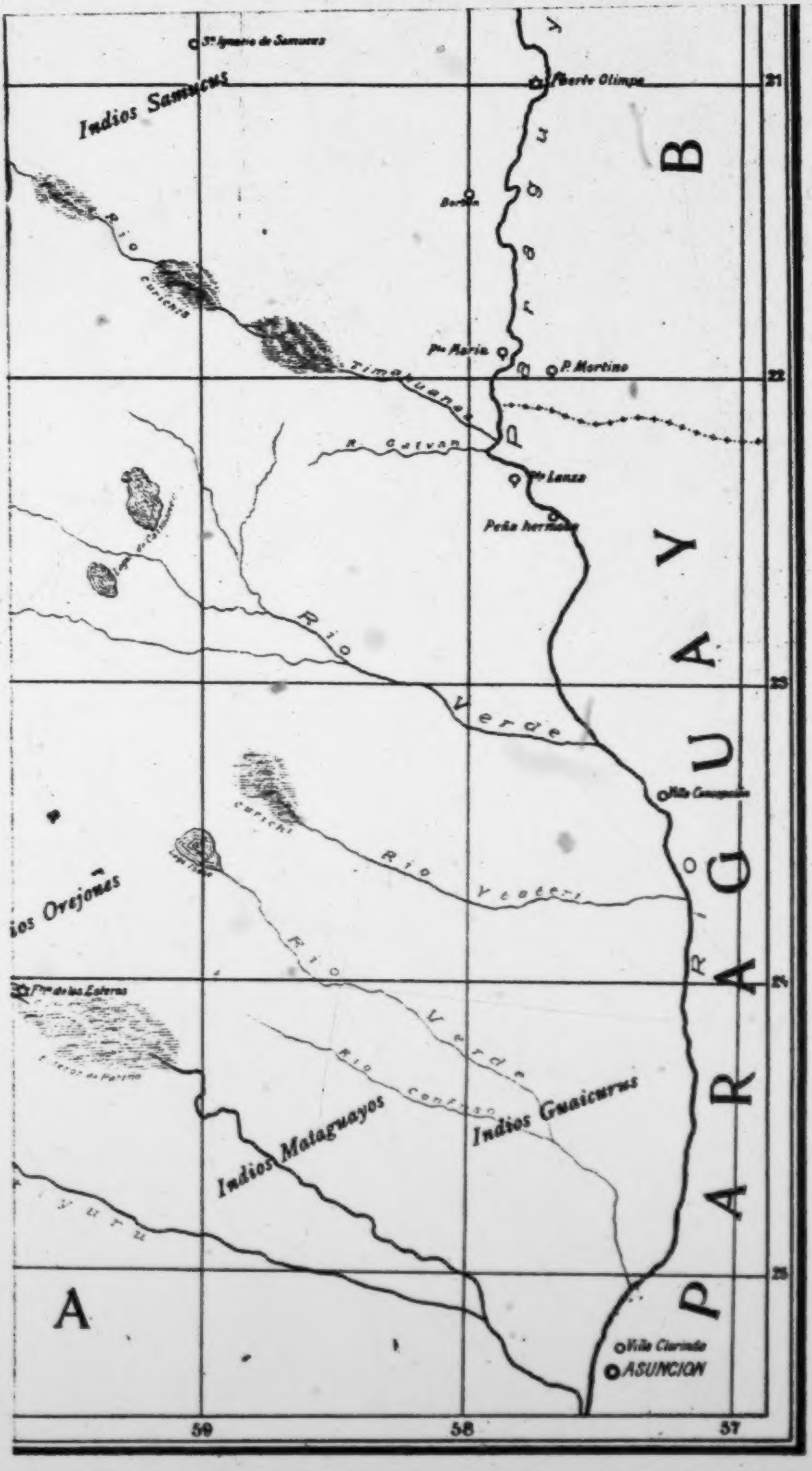
133
361
● 797


Sᵗᵒ Ignacio de Samucos
Fuerte Olimpo
Indios Samucus
21
B
Borbón
Rio Curichis
Pᵗᵒ María
P. Martino
Timaguanes
22
R. Galvan
Pᵗᵒ Lanza
Peña hermosa
Rio Paraguay
Y
Rio Verde
23
A
U
Villa Concepción
Curichi
Rio Ycaberi
G
Indios Orejoñes
Rio Verde
24
Fᵗᵉ de los Esteros
Esteros de Patiño
Rio Confuso
Indios Guaicurus
Indios Mataguayos
yuru
25
A
PARAGUAY
Villa Clorinda
ASUNCION
59
58
57

/157 cont./ One old woman who was Ce
supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after 124
she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in 197
this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by ethnographers 123
either, the promise of the old woman was not very
friendly. Ce

The Chané use their old language for many expressions 195
that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they translate 197
as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called
pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for Ce [533]
example, siparakinắnoyé, siparakinắnoyé, siparakinắnoyé,
tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate. C

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief 114
Taruiri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many 126
old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruiri
I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was
always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77 C
appears here./ "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in, [123]
which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered. C

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the 797
mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little 164
water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be [114]
dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region, [133]
Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spreading [312]
into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the
place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a
genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in
Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged frightfully
among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost C
served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was [764]
laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix.
Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue C
to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table. [273]

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the C
latter must drink up. [576]

/159 cont./
In the village of Cuevo alone 60 out of 200 persons died within 114
a short time. I visited the 140. They were as gay as ever. 64 [65]
Spirits and beer were consumed in quantities. [275]

Father Bernardino was never given credit for this work, but 797 ●
rather the medicine men, who had bewitched the sickness so that 756
it would not come to Ivu. The white colonists, too, occasionally
had the medicine men come in order to /Fig. 78 appears here/ drive
away the sickness. They did not believe in the vaccine either.

With Ivu as the starting point, I made a trip into the 114

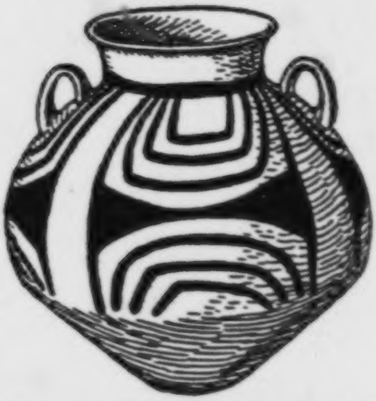


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Fig. 77. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/6.

Igũembe valley, in order to visit the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 114
It was a charming ride on horseback up on the high crests and [133]
down into deep valleys, through an often grandiose, colorful
landscape. These valleys are poor in forests. Only in a well- [137]
protected ravine in which a brook trickles forth is the vegetation
luxuriant.

I soon became very good friends with old Maringay. The 123
old man was conservative, clung to the old customs, and felt 157
that the Indians should be on good terms with the whites, but 178
should preserve their old habits and customs unchanged. His 643
village was extraordinarily interesting and very rich in old, fine
things.

/159 cont. /
things. The ceramics /160/ which I found there belong among 323
the very best that I saw among these Indians (Figs. 77 and 78).

From Maringay I returned to Ivu by way of the mission station 361
of Santa Rosa. It has a wonderful location. Like an old fortress, 797
it is built on a narrow hill. Below it, in long rows, lie the [114]
grayish-brown Chiriguano huts surrounded by low woods of [342]
Mimosaceae, cacti, small algorrobas, and other fine-leaved [137]
trees. This woodland is seldom so dense than one cannot easily
get out of it without a bush knife. When I was in Santa Rosa, 132

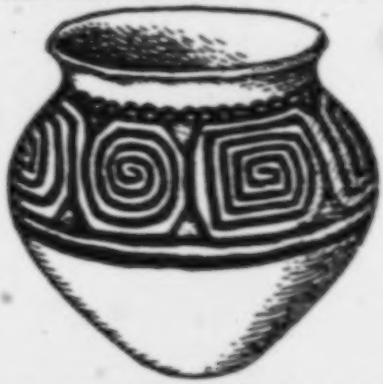

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Fig. 78. Clay vessel made by the wife of the Chiriguano chief Maringay. 1/7.

it was the dry season and everything was burned up. Here too, 132
however, rain probably entices the green out of the dry earth.
Sometimes the rain is so long in coming, however, that the [731]
Indians do not get any maize and that means -- hunger.

From Santa Rosa one looks far out over the mountains and 133
across the great plain of Boyuovit, over the country that was 648
the native land of the Chiriguano, where, at Curuyuqui, they
fought their last battle with the Christians, who assume the
right to rob all weaker peoples.

After my excursion to Maringay I left the land of the 114
Chiriguano and Chané and paid my second visit, already
described in this book, to the Choroti and Ashluslay.

/161 cont./

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said. 173 361

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her. 563

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, /162/ 114 797 ●

[113]

> 4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./

so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

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797

/162 cont./

When I read how the missionaries describe their own conquest of the land of the Chiriguano Indians, it does not please me to hear only about the courage of the former and the brutality of the latter. I do not deny that the missionaries were brave, but I admire more the love of freedom and the courage of the Chiriguano Indians. If it became too difficult for the monks, soldiers almost always came to their aid. The Indians yielded to the missionaries not only as a result of the "religion of love," but as a result of bullet and lead. The path to the one soul-saving church was not infrequently soaked with blood.

/163/

Chapter Ten

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Indians as Geographers

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823

Is there a single habitable place on the South American continent which has not been discovered by the Indians?

I venture to answer "no" to this question. We find Indians on the highest peaks of the Andes, there are Indians in the dry scrub forests of the northern Chaco, Indians rove about in the deep virgin forests of eastern Bolivia, the inhospitable islands around Tierra del Fuego are inhabited by Indians, in former times many Indians lived on the pampas of Argentina.

What a vast period of time these people required to discover every brook, every pool, every cliff, every grove on the South American continent. For four hundred years the white man with all his resources has sought to explore South America, and yet much more than one usually believes is still unexplored. He is acquainted with all the large rivers and trade routes in the interior of South America, but there are still vast regions that the foot of a white man has never trod. The Indians know every cranny, or at least have known it.

SF10
Chane SF8

/167 cont./

C
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648

to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these battles has been preserved in the mountain valleys.

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Curuyuqui, on the plain of Boyuovis. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against firearms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night.

C
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797

Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature.

Ce
829

Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

C
Ce
[173]

If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me they had first lived on the upper Rio Parapiti (1), but were driven away from there by a

Ce
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[131]

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1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

Ce
[113]

Ce
[167]

great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Rio Paraguay, which river,

C
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/197 cont./

I saw the "parama" game played by the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley. It is played by two. A button or the like is placed on a stone as a goal, whereupon they throw small round stones made of clay shards. The button is supposed to be struck down, and the one /Figs. 100 and 101 appear here/ who comes closest to it wins a stroke. The game goes on until one of them has five or more strokes, according to agreement.

C
Ce
524

The Chané and Chiriguano children also have a number of toys which are illustrated here (Figs. 104-105). One of these, "mou-mou" (Fig. 104), is strange. With it /198/ a buzzing tone is produced if the threads are first twisted and then stretched.

Ce
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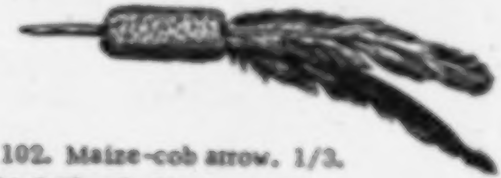

Fig. 102. Maize-cob arrow. 1/3.
"Sôuki." Chané. Rio Parapiti.

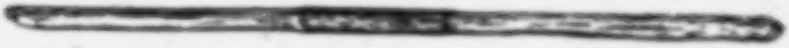

Fig. 103. Little stick for the huirahuahua game. 1/3. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Now I have no doubt properly bored my readers with Indian games and toys. Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this subject, so little studied in South America, which interested me keenly on my journey. As among the Choroti and Ashluslay, I liked playing with the boys. This is also a way of coming closer to the Indians, of winning their confidence.

Ee
[123]

Ee
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[797
177]

Like the Choroti and Ashluslay children, the children of the Chané and Chiriguano are seldom bored; like the former, they are well-behaved and good children. It is usually very lively on the playgrounds in the villages. This is true of the heathen. The children who have fallen into the hands of the monks look melancholy and reserved; they have already been given a taste of what the children of the white man learn, training and the beginning of civilization. "You shall..." "You shall not..."

C
Ce

/210 cont./

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857

accompanies his father on the hunt and feels extraordinarily proud and clever if he is allowed to go home with the "common" hunting booty. The children see and learn. It is fun for them to help father and mother.

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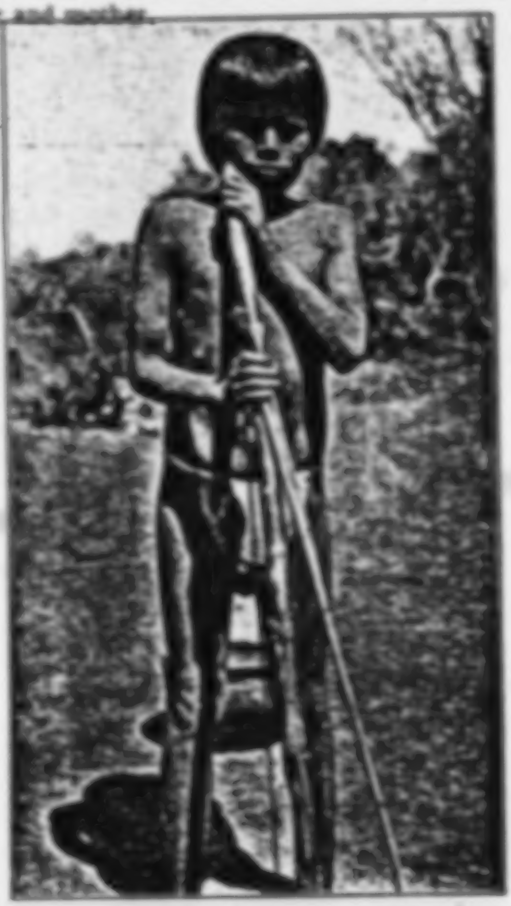

Fig. 110. Chané boy. Rio Parapiti.
He has arrows with blunt tips in his hand.

Ea
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[777]

How different is the child-rearing in the missions, which is based on spying and tattling.

Ee
[736]

Motherless children are taken in by relatives. Here, too, one not infrequently seen older aunts caressing the children of others.

Ea 581 /212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

c Ce 582 Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

Ce [171] This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

Ee 595 Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. c [843] Ee [586] These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

Ea 582 Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

c 577 177 ●797 831 /214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict c [837] morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

c 577 831 175 The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

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1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

C /215 cont./
165 President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-
1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than
C about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.
145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/
that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and
senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women
C mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an
[114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that
C they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.
142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian
men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are
C rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older,
[145] their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become
[164] blind in old age, less often deaf.

C Ce Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old
142 people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and
515 bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano.
These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old
people keep themselves nice and clean.

C Ce If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill,
756 the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds
C of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The
Ce former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the
[754] spell and to bewitch.

C I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father
756 Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian
● 797 answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among
the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and
their influence.

C Ce In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of
756 Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.
177

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1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

Ce /245 cont./
323 The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are
531 decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them.
Ce The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/).
[237] /246/ With a brush made of agouti hairs (1) the decorations are
[413]

1. Dasyprocta.

Ce
[386] painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment
is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and
Ce sandstone. They paint freehand and compose the decorations from
323 memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excrement are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must
burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel
Ce is large, even longer (Fig. 122).

[314] If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin,
"taraviruti," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with
[824] resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is
identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a
yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glaze.

Ce
[789] When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled,
so that water will boil rapidly in it.

C
531 In Maringay's village individual vessels were painted
323 with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat.
386 I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers.
286 The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and
sometimes sheep wool.

Ee Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites,
[439] native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did
[177] not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and
native woven goods were very rare.

Ee As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without
286 ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the
531 missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of
[797] flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

Ec 286 531 [797]

/246 cont./

Strangely enough, after they leave the sewing class, the Indian women cease to use these decorations. It would be better if the missionaries taught the Indian children /247/ decorations connected with their imaginative life. The results of their work would then be entirely different.

Ce 286 532 177

A couple of generations ago a few Chané women learned from a Quichua woman how to weave decorations which

C 286 531

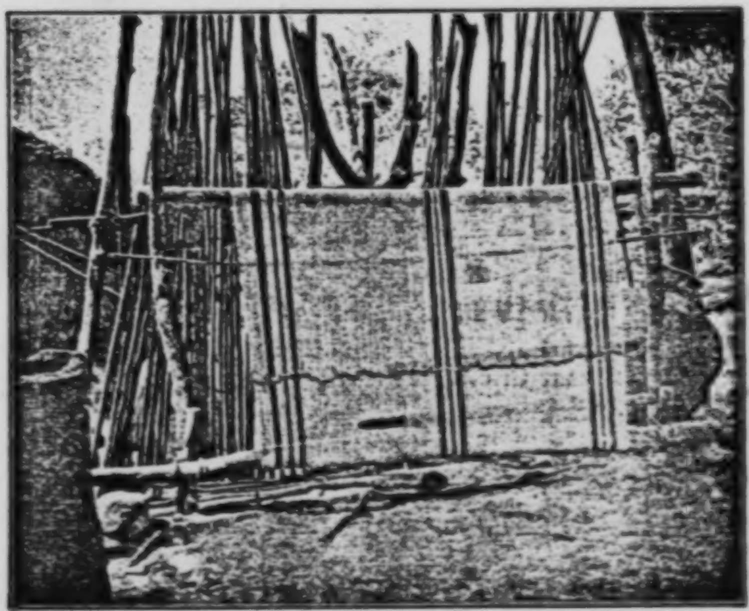

Fig. 123. Loom. Chiriguano.
Tihuīpa.

Ce 286 532 [171]

one still sees on various Chané fabrics. They were stylized animals and human beings. Plant ornamentation does not make much impression on the Indian women. Animal and human figures stimulate their imagination, and they teach them to their children.

6: Nordenskiöld--147 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/297/

Chapter Eighteen

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On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

The Catholic Missions among the Chiriguano

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Gradually all the Indians are bound to come under the influence of the whites. This is unavoidable. Day by day the areas in which they still live independently are diminishing. As soon as their territories have been conquered, they will be forced, in one way or another, to work for the whites and to become completely dependent on them. As a rule, they are also badly treated, exploited, and morally ruined.

e
Ec
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In this unfortunate situation it is therefore fortunate that there have been and are self-sacrificing human beings who have done something and are willing to do something to help the Indians. These persons are the missionaries. It cannot be denied that they have tried and succeeded in doing important civilizing work among them. Enthusiasm and a willingness for self-sacrifice are required in order to become a missionary. No one could, for his own pleasure, spend his whole life in regions where the solitude must be terrible in the long run and where life offers no diversions or enjoyments.

For the missionary, the work of religious conversion is the most important thing. He wants to save souls from hell, "tatahuasurenda" (1). Fortunately, the Catholic missionaries are wise enough to /298/ think a little about this life and to strive for improvement in the material conditions of life of the Indians.

1. Tatahuasurenda = where the big fire is. Guarani word invented by the missionaries.

C
Ce /298 cont./

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797
Ce
The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a mission child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mission he is under guardians, but not under oppressors.

797
When my friend, the Chané Indian Batirayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

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797
Ee
When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done anything bad."

797
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The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

C

Fear of the Rubber Regions

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In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the Indians to Argentina. In the /299/ northernmost territory of the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

gave regular battle to the whites. This battle, in which about 5,000 181
Chiriguano Indians took part, was fought at Curuyqui, on the tableland 648
of Boyuovis. The result of the struggle was long undecided, but the Indians were at length compelled to give way before the superior weapons of the whites.

According to a Chiriguano legend, man's soul, some time after corporeal death, comes to the abode of the great spirit Tumpà, where it enjoys to the full everything in which it delighted during its earthly existence. But no joy is permanent. When the soul has spent its allotted time with Tumpà, it is obliged to return to the world and there enter into the body of a fox. When the fox dies, the soul moves into a rat, and, when this animal dies, into a branch of an old tree in the forest. The tree ages, withers away and dies and, as the branch decays, the soul, too, gradually perishes. When the branch has finally become mould, the flame of the soul is extinguished for ever. 775

797.

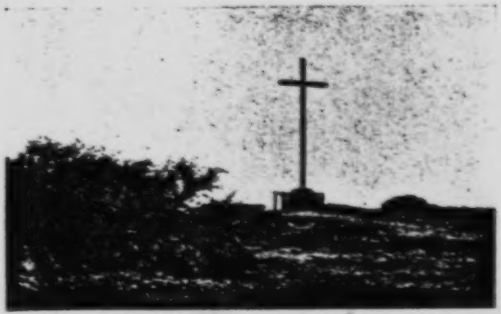

Fig. 232. A large wooden cross raised near the Franciscan mission for Chiriguano, at Aguayrenda. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[pp. 226-268 not processed]

C
114 /2 cont./ outside of the Toba, whom I met
only in passing, I got to know on this journey the Chiriguano
C Ce and the Izozó, who, like the former, speak a dialect of the
[197] Guaraní language; the Tapieté, Churupí, Mataco, and
Chorote. All of these Indian tribes are not unknown in ethnological literature.
C On Chiriguano history we are oriented
175 through old documents from even the first years of the Spanish
114 conquest, and we owe to the Franciscan missionaries, who
● 797 have taught among them for a long time, quite important
A ethnological publications. The Churupí have been studied
114 minutely under the name Ashluslay by Erland Nordenskiöld,
101 and the Oblates of Immaculate Mary in Esteros and Lake
Escalante are striving intensively to make ethnological investigations.
C I have proposed to deal with all of these tribes
121 systematically. This survey will be made on the basis of the
results of my journey, and I begin in this first publication
with the Chiriguano and Izozó.

General Information

C
Ce
174 As I said in the introduction to this work, I first met the
361 Chiriguano in Machareti and the Izozó in the area around the
fort of Toledo and in the fort "15 de Agosto," several kilometers from the former two.

C Figure 1[1] presents a view of Machareti, a Chiriguano town
361 created in its present form by the Franciscan mission. When
[632] the Paraguayan army retook Machareti, it had already been
[797] abandoned by the Padres, and now a Chiriguano, in the role
of commissioner /comisario/, is the chief of the town, there
C also being a few caciques. The houses, more or less in the
[342] form of modern ranchos (cf. Figs. 14 and 15 /see p.40 /), are
[363] on both sides of wide streets which run parallel and at right
C angles, as in most of the towns of the former Spanish colonies.
[731] When I was present in Machareti, there was great need /3/
among these Indians because of the severe drought which had
ruined their plantings, which were some distance from the
C town. At the side of the ranchos are often found deposits which
[342] were structures of native houses built on sticks. Although
000

[1] [See P. 8 -- Analyst]

Chane SF8
Izozo

C /3 cont./ Although
799 many primordial customs of the Chiriguano have been lost
177 because of the influence of the missions, there have never-
178 theless been preserved a sufficient number of native objects
126 to make a relatively complete ethnological collection among
these Indians.

Ce The Izozó, having abandoned their homes in the regions
648 of the lower Parapití River during the Chaco War, had been
167 provisionally moved to the environs of the fort of Toledo and
361 the fort "15 de Agosto," where they were living in ranchos
Ce abandoned by the soldiers. In the environs of the forts they
241 had scratched out large fields for their plantings, but, be-
311 cause of the great drought, they had had no chance to plant,
731 with the result that part of them had already returned to the
167 western region when I was in these forts. When I began my
[361] return from Machareti, a large part of them were near the fort
Ce of Carandayty. According to the data kindly given me by the
162 Toledo military authorities, the number of Izozó who had
come to Toledo and "15 de Agosto" up to June 30, 1935,
reached 1,647 adults, 724 minors, and 122 small children,
a total of 2,493 souls. On August 24, the end of my stay in
Toledo, there were in this fort and in "15 de Agosto" only
503 adults, 141 minors, and 26 small children, most of them
having returned to the west by this time.

Ce These Izozó Indians, who speak a dialect of the Guaraní
101 language, indignantly reject the name Chiriguano. They say
[199] that they are Guaraní and Paraguayans and that their name is
Ce Izozó. Up to now I have not seen this name in ethnological
101 literature and it does not appear in Moreno's work, Cuestión
114 de Límites con Bolivia /Question of Boundaries with Bolivia/,
Vol. II. Only on the map of Bolivia drawn by the engineer
Franz Germann (Hamburg, 1904) is there noted between the
Rio Grande and the Rio Parapití the name "Izozeños." The
Ce Izozó near Toledo told me that their homes were in the region
101 of the estuaries of the lower Parapití. Since these Indians re-
[361] jected not only the name Chiriguano but also the name Chané

/10 cont./

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At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabama, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypuru faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River.
ooo Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place.
[563] Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near
Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole
[797] territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131/174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361/177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house
361 as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la
342 tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata y Chile /A Brief
[62] Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata,
[113] and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

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56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

/15 cont./
342 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with
171 four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found
identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These
houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess
of 50 meters."

361 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano
177 had departed from the primordial construction of their towns,
178 which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end
of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few
small ranchos made of cane" (61).

[113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/, Colección Angelis, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (ténta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present
[199] form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and
[363] right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish
[177] colonies, since their construction is not a product of the
indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and
[343] primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond
to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have
information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

Chane SF8
Izozo

/82 cont./

E Ee 53 Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I. A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

E Ce 114 With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I am unable to add to the few data which we knew on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ce 115 122 126 /83/ Among the Izozó whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izozó language which I wrote down. C 114 •191 622 I met the Chiriguano only in Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

E Ce 129 In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 178 648 643 000 Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

Ce
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643
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/89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C
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C
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Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

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[622]

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

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In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the Preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

/90 cont./

000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] /Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363).

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

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[126]

Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I. A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I. A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very common among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
796 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
797 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual,
177 and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I. p. 462.

532
[527] The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I. Plate 86 and Fig. 121.